

**THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE MOTIVE
OF**

PROTESTANT MISSIONS TO CHINA

1807 - 1928

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PREFACE

In getting up this essay it has been necessary to limit the study to a few mission Boards. Biographies of the leading men of the major mission Boards at work during each period have been examined, as well as official Board reports, records of all Protestant missionary conferences affecting China directly, and contemporary articles in periodicals. Therefore the study is truly descriptive, though not exhaustive, of the motive of Protestant missions to China from the arrival of the first missionary in 1807, through the recent Jerusalem conference, 1928.

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INTRODUCTION

A statement of the nature of the problem before us is needed before entering upon its discussion. Our purpose is to describe the original motive of Protestant missions to China, to discover any changes which have taken place in it and to ask why these changes have occurred. In order to do this it will be necessary to relate briefly, in sections, the changes in China itself, in the countries from which the missions came, and in the theology which gave rise to and fostered the missionary enterprise. This is our problem.

If we are to understand the motive of Protestant missions to China we must know the background out of which they arose. The conditions in the West which gave rise to and molded them were as follows:

First, there were tremendous movements outside the church itself. Late in the eighteenth and early in the nineteenth centuries came the Industrial Revolution,

"the new mastery of man over his physical environment",¹

which altered practically every phase of human life.

The replacement of the older handicraft system by

¹ K. S. Latourette, Class Notes - "Expansion of Christianity."

machinery called for the discovery of new supplies of coal and iron and the development of mining. Better means of transportation resulted in the coming of the steamboat and the railway. To these were added improved means of communication, the telephone, the telegraph, and postal service. The consequences were widespread and varied. International trade developed and the world was soon made a small community. Foreign countries which had been fairy lands now became the common knowledge of all through expeditions such as those conducted by Captain James Cook (1728-1779) in the Pacific from 1768 to his death.¹ Furthermore, European culture spread over the entire world and led directly to the opening of China; for it was Great Britain's search for markets which underlay her pressure in China. Americans were similarly introduced to China through this expansion. The Industrial Revolution also greatly increased the material wealth of the West, especially of those countries dominantly Protestant. It brought an increase of population and a greater stream of emigration.

The intellectual life of the West was being transformed. Theology was fast losing its crown to the physical sciences, now growing rapidly under the impetus

1) Williston Walker, A History of the Christian Church, N. Y., 1926, p. 522.

given by men like Bacon, Galileo, and Newton. Each year found new theories in physics, astronomy, and chemistry. Man's intellectual outlook was broadened.

"The earth was no longer the centre of all things, but a mere speck in a vast realm of bodies, many of infinitely greater size, and all moving in obedience to unchangeable laws."¹

Philosophy was receiving its share of the new development. The thinkers of the time such as Berkely (1685-1753), Hume (1711-1776), Voltaire (1694-1778), Hegel (1770-1831), Schleiermacher (1768-1834), and Kant (1724-1804) brought new worlds of thought and challenged the old, opening up unknown fields of philosophy and theology.

Again, experimentation was taking place in the realm of political science. Old types of social control broke under the weight of new problems. Democracy thrived but as the nineteenth century wore on and it failed to bring the Golden Age, many other social, religious, and economic programs were put forward. The political movements were nourished by the rise of a new national consciousness, illustrated in the unification of Italy and Germany in the latter part of the nineteenth century.¹ National and racial solidarity were emphasized as one nation struggled to secure her commercial

1) Williston Walker, A History of the Christian Church, N. Y., 1926, p. 486.

and economic future in the face of the advance of others. Business men representing several different nations carried their rivalries into the sphere of international competition and created "areas of friction". Spheres of influence were extended around the globe. The exploitation of backward regions by the business men of Great Britain, Germany, France, Italy, Russia, Japan, and the United States is now easily traced. And those familiar with the "areas of friction" thus created in Egypt, in Siam, in the Sudan, in Morocco, in Persia, in the Balkans, and in China know the main clew to the significant cause of every international conflict of the twentieth century.¹ Weak races were exploited and old tribal customs of non-European primitive tribes passed out, carrying with them many moral and ethical restraints.

In this "cradle" of modern institutions - political, economic, and intellectual - Protestant missions arose from a vital change within religion itself. The religious movement which accompanied the Industrial Revolution was first evidenced in the Pietist Movement. This, according to Walker,² began with Phillip Jakob Spener, born January 13, 1635, in Alsace. It was, in

1. Carlton J. W. Hayes, A Brief History of the Great War, N. Y., 1920, pp. 2-3.

2. Williston Walker, A History of the Christian Church, N. Y., 1926, pp. 496 ff.

essence, a protest against the dominant tendencies within Lutheranism — the emphases upon dogma, and upon rigid and exact intellectual conformity. It asserted the primacy of the feelings in the Christian experience and gave the laity a share in the building of the Christian life. Under the influence of Hermann Francke (1683-1727), Halle became the centre of Pietist teaching. Pietism gave rise to a great zeal for missions which resulted in the first Protestant missionaries to India, Ziegenbalg and Plutschau, graduates of Halle, sent by the Danes to Travancore in 1705.

Another result of Pietism was the reconstitution of the Moravian Brethren, under the leadership of Zinzendorf (b. 1700, Dresden). His followers established a community at Herrnhut in Saxony. Characteristic of this movement was the willingness of its members to go anywhere in the service of Christ. This gave it a missionary emphasis which it never lost.

In England the new burst of religious life came under the leadership of John Wesley and George Whitefield. Wesley was converted in 1733 while attending a Moravian Meeting in London. Here, there came in his life a strange inner awakening which Lecky says

1. Williston Walker, A History of the Christian Church, N. Y., 1926, pp. 501 ff.

was the most important event in England in the eighteenth century. Wesley ordained ministers and went up and down England preaching, with the result that the movement spread over the entire length of the island. It emphasized an inward transformation of life, the care and development of the intellect, and the social side of the gospel. It spread rapidly among the middle classes. George Whitefield, a product of the famous Holy Club in Oxford, aided mightily in the revival. He began his ministry in 1736 and preached in Georgia, England, and New England, his preaching in the latter place being accompanied by the Great Awakening, the greatest religious upheaval the section has ever witnessed.¹ The direct result of the Wesleyan movement was the organization of the Methodists; but its influence was felt outside of Methodist ranks. Other denominations increased in their zeal to preach and to save souls. From the Evangelical Awakening came a fresh humanitarianism, expressing itself in condemnation of the slave trade, in prison reform, and in other social movements. From the same impetus sprang the Evangelical wing of the Church of England. Non-conformist groups, such as the Congregationalists, felt

1) Williston Walker, A History of the Christian Church, N. Y., 1926, p. 511.

its strong influence. In many cases movements paralleling Methodism in spirit, arose or gained in religious zeal. Such were the "Lady Huntingdon's Connection" founded in 1761 which had Whitefield as its chaplain; the Baptists; and the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, organized in 1699, but now stirred to new fervor.¹

It was out of the direct experience of God and the immediate consciousness of salvation characteristic of these movements that missions arose in England. Men believed that this salvation was for all men, regardless of color or rank, and that their duty was to carry it to them. The first English missionary organization had come into being in 1649, for the purpose of sending missionaries to work among the Indians in Massachusetts, but English Protestantism had never been seriously interested in giving the Gospel to the non-European world. William Carey, born in 1761 and converted through contact with Dissenters, became interested in missions through reading the "Voyages" of Captain James Cook. A cobbler, then a preacher and schoolmaster, he worked with one master passion which underlay every thought,

"that the heathen he had read so much of in his favorite books ought to hear the Gospel message".

1) Williston Walker, A. History of the Christian Church, N. Y., 1926, pp. 516-521.

This conviction soon developed into a determination

"that this duty not being yet apparent to others he himself would lead the way".

As the result of this zeal and his constant challenging of other men with this duty he finally succeeded in the organization of the Baptist Missionary Society in 1792. One year later he sailed for India.¹ Other societies followed; the London Missionary Society in 1795 which sent the first Protestant missionary to China, the Church Missionary Society, founded in 1799, The British and Foreign Bible Society, established in 1804, and the Wesleyan Missionary Society, 1818.

On the continent missionary zeal was expressed in the organization of a number of societies, among them the Basel Society, founded in 1822; the Berlin Society, sending its first missionary in 1834; and the French Protestant Missionary Society in 1824.

In America the Great Awakening like the Evangelical movement placed emphasis upon a personal religious experience. Interest waned during the Revolution but revived about 1800. News of the English missionary efforts aroused a group of students in Williams College, led by Samuel Mills (1783-1818), -- in a region where the Great Awakening had been strong in 1810 -- and re-

1) Introduction to William Carey's An Enquiry into the Obligations of Christians. London, 1892, pp. xii-xxii.

sulted in the organization of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. From these New England students in 1812 came the first group of Protestant missionaries sent from the United States. Other missionary organizations were set up rapidly, the Methodists organizing in 1819, the Dutch Reformed in 1835, the Presbyterians in 1837, and others soon after. All of them arose from groups which were committed to the principles and experiences of the revival movements.

These then were the movements and conditions in Protestantism which produced the missionary enterprise to China as in the other parts of the world: the Industrial Revolution with its increased prosperity in England, America, and Protestant Europe; its resolution of the world into a neighborhood; and the Great Religious Awakening with its emphasis on responsibility for the "heathen".

Protestant missions to China began before the first treaties between China and the West, early in the nineteenth century, when English and American missionaries went to Siam, Java, Penang, Canton, Singapore, and Borneo to work among Chinese emigrants. Until 1842 the Chinese Empire was practically closed to all but the most limited missionary work. Some early attempts

had been made with little success, two notable examples being that of the Dutch to Formosa in the seventeenth century, which lasted only forty years; and that of George Fox, consisting of three men who were turned back by the British consul in Egypt. With the arrival of Robert Morrison in 1807, the first Protestant missionary to reside in China, the work began to develop. William Milne joined him in 1812 and other missionaries began to come. Efforts were redoubled with the privileges of residence and ownership of property granted by the treaties of 1842.¹ Five ports were opened and Hongkong was occupied by the British. What had been considered the biggest barrier to missions to China had fallen. Shuck described the change to his Board, September 14, 1842:²

"I am now permitted to convey to you the glorious intelligence that peace is declared between Great Britain and China, and this land of heathenized infidelity has at last been thrown open!!!"

1. It will be recalled that the war between Britain and China, which resulted in these treaties, came as a result of misunderstandings between Lord Napier, sent to Macao as supervisor of British trade in 1834, and the Chinese officials. This strained relationship practically cut off British and American trade. Conditions became tense, with the Chinese ruler refusing to hold direct intercourse with the foreigners, and in 1840 the inevitable conflict was precipitated by the opium question, England refusing to require her merchants to refrain from shipping opium into China and the Chinese officials likewise obstinately set upon enforcing the law prohibiting the trade.

2. Correspondence of the American Baptist Missionary Union, Quoted by K. S. Latourette in History of Early Relations Between the U. S. and China, 1784-1844. New Haven, 1917, p. 121.

Protestant forces felt that it was the time for an advance movement of missions to China and interest at home and abroad waxed warm. By 1858 twenty different societies were represented by eighty-one missionaries. The societies doubled in number during the 30 years following the treaties and conventions of 1858-1860, and their representation was increased to 1296 missionaries (1889 figures). Since that time the growth has continued, with the exception of the years of the Boxer uprising and the recent Nationalist revolution.

We conclude this introduction with a few specific illustrations of how some of the first Protestant missionaries to China came out of this world upheaval. Then we shall be ready to go into the motives which sent them out.

Robert Morrison was born in 1782, one year before the recognition of American Independence by Great Britain. When fifteen years old, and living in Newcastle, England, he was the subject of a radical religious conversion. Broomhall says,

"he was delivered from the perils of Godless companions, he passed through the heart-searching experiences of conviction of sin, fear of judgment to come, and salvation by grace".¹

He read his Bible, engaged in devotional conversation,

1. Marshall Broomhall, Robert Morrison, London, 1934, p. 13.

and visited the sick. What more typical example could we have of the religious forces revolutionising the West than that of the first Protestant missionary to reside in China. Morrison was a true representative of the Evangelical Awakening, in that he was sent by the London Missionary Society and made the voyage on one of the vessels engaged in the young Chinese-American trade, the British East India Company having refused to transport missionaries to China.

An associate of Morrison was William Milne, another product of the religious movement of the same period. Born in 1785 in Aberdeenshire, he received the humble education of the poorer classes, with no religious instruction except the catechisms taught in the parish school. He was called "Satan" in his early boyhood because of his aversion for things religious and his ability to speak oaths and create new ones. But the great change coming over the religious condition of Scotland caught him and he was converted at the age of thirteen. He began to read religious books and to hold services in his home. He was much impressed by reading, in The Cloud of Witnesses, of the persecutions in Scotland under Charles II. Milne sailed to join Morrison in 1812.¹

1. Vanguard of the Christian Army, London, 1924, p. 13.

Carl F. A. Gutzlaff, the inspirer of Protestant missions to China from Germany and Holland, was a product of the Pietist movement. Born in Prussia, 1803, he early had a great desire for knowledge. He became known for his linguistic talents, his desire for knowledge, and his religious disposition and conduct. In 1818 he conceived the idea of becoming a missionary to the heathen and later was admitted to the university at Halle, the academic center of Pietism. In 1827 he sailed to Batavia and subsequently became the founder of a number of Protestant enterprises in China.¹

Elijah Coleman Bridgman was a descendant of the New England Pilgrim Fathers. In 1812,

"during an extensive revival in Hampshire County, he was among the early subjects of that work of grace, and the following year joined the Congregational Church in his native town, under the personal care of the Rev. Experience Porter,"²

— a picturesque description of the American religious awakening. He arrived in Canton in 1830, having been sent by the American Board.

David Abeel, who arrived in Canton with Bridgman to serve as chaplain of the American Seaman's Friend

1. Vanguard of the Christian Army, pp. 208 ff.

2. Elija J. Bridgman, Elijah Coleman Bridgman, N. Y., 1884, p. 1.

Society, came to the Christian life in the same characteristic way. Born in New Jersey in 1804, his childhood was guided by a mother of

"deep piety, great benevolence of character, and gentleness of spirit".¹

Williamson describes his conversion as beginning with deep conviction of sin, resulting in anguish until his soul was racked with anxiety and torment. But his pastor, Dr. Livingstone, "probed his heart" and at last "hope of salvation dawned". He asked,

"how can I be of greater service to the cause of my master"?

The answer was received through the inspiration of reading the Life of Henry Martyn, famous missionary and product of the Evangelical Movement in England.²

Peter Parker, the first medical missionary to China, came from the Awakening in America. On his mother's side were

"pious and devoted followers of Christ, as well as on his father's."

Through this religious background,

"a deep conviction of sin resulting in morbidness, his futile attempts to save himself, and the final self-surrender, the feeling of nearness to God"

came over him. He says,

"I felt I was not mistaken, my sins were forgiven, my distress was gone."

1. Abeel's Diary, Quoted by G. R. Williamson, Memoirs of Rev. David Abeel, N. Y. 1848, pp. 40ff.

2. Ibid.

He was later a central figure in the great "work of grace" in Yale -- one of the revivals that marked the first half of the nineteenth century in the college -- and held religious meetings in and about New Haven.¹ Parker was sent out by the American Board in 1834 as the first missionary to China. Through an Ophthalmic Hospital opened in Canton, in 1835 he did much to build friendship for missions among the Chinese.²

S. Wells Williams was another son of early New England religious enthusiasm to go to China. A descendant of Welsh Puritan stock, he regularly attended Sunday School and memorized Bible passages without number. He was placed in charge of a class of boys and organized the "Juvenile Society of Learning and Doing Good". He went to China in 1833 as a printer under the American Board because of

"the need of books to Christianize the heathen".³

As corresponding secretary of the Morrison Educational Society in Canton, Interpreter, and later Secre-

1. Peter Parker's Diary, - Quoted by Geo. B. Stevens, Life of Peter Parker, M. D., Boston, 1896, pp. 41ff.

2. Ibid., pp. 108ff. The approval of Parker's work was shown by the fact that after the first year he was given a building free of rent by Howqua, the chief hong merchant. S. Wells Williams, The Middle Kingdom, Vol. II, N. Y., 1883, pp. 333-337.

3. S. Wells Williams, Life and Letters of Samuel Wells Williams, N. Y., 1889, p. 45.

tary, of the Legation for the United States Williams played a great part in the opening of China to missions.¹

Samuel Robbins Brown, born in 1810 in East Windsor, Connecticut, to a mother of Pilgrim stock, was baptized in his home because his mother was too ill to carry him to

"the house of God. But he was as fervently and sacredly devoted to God in the ordinance of private baptism."

He memorized scripture, sacred songs and catechisms until it is claimed he could recite seven hundred and fifty verses of scripture from memory.² This New England boy sailed to China in 1839 as the first instructor of the Morrison Educational Society at Canton.

It has been mentioned that before 1842 many missionaries were working among the Chinese just outside China. One of these was Samuel Dyer who came in 1817, to the Straits Settlements. He was a native of Greenwich, born in 1804, and had had

"the unspeakably important and happy advantage of religious instruction and pious example".³

1. Alexander Wylie, Memorials of Protestant Missionaries to the Chinese, Shanghai, 1867, p. 77.

2. William Elliott Griffis, A Maker of the New Orient, N. Y., 1923, p. 28.

3. Evan Davies, Memoir of Samuel Dyer, London, 1846, p. 3.

He wrote later to his brother:

"Paddington (where he was converted) lies in my warmest affections. It was there that I kneeled on the separating line between Christ and the world. I kneeled and prayed for strength to side with Christ; I arose and was inwardly assisted to turn my back upon the world. And from that day to this Jesus Christ has been precious to my soul.. Especially do I remember our peaceful, quiet, harmonious church meetings; they were happy seasons."¹

Later Dyer worked along the shores of India, as a result of his attention being directed to missionary work through a pamphlet, Memoir of Mrs. Head, wife of the Rev. Charles Head of Travancore.

As a final example let us cite the most interesting conversion of Henrietta Hall, who in 1836 sailed to China as the wife of J. L. Shuck and the first female missionary to China. It is picturesquely described by Rev. J. B. Jeter,² her pastor.

"The summer of 1831 is memorable for the religious revivals which prevailed among the churches, of all evangelical Christian denominations, in Virginia.... Thousands, of all classes of society, were joyfully converted to Christ, and added to the churches. The Baptists of the North Neck resolved, after prayer and consultation, to hold a camp-meeting in the month of August, in Lancaster County.... Henrietta Hall, having returned from Fredericksburg to pass the vacation at home, was among the Christian converts at the meeting. Her convictions of sin were pungent, her feelings deep, and her deliverance joyful.... Her experience was clear, scriptural and satisfactory."

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1. Evan Davies, Memoir of Samuel Dyer, London, 1846, p. 6.
 2. J. B. Jeter, Memoir of Mrs. Henrietta Shuck, Boston, 1846, pp. 17-19.

"I well remember that she ascribed her first permanent religious impression to the solemn question propounded to her by her pious teacher, Mrs. Little, 'Where will you be a hundred years hence?' It awakened in her bosom serious meditation, a sense of accountability to God and a conviction of guilt and danger, which, by the divine blessing, led her to repentance, and prepared her for a happy reception of the gospel."

Such was the religious experience which sent the first Protestant missionaries to China. In most cases it was the characteristic type of conversion which began with self-examination, a sense of the lack of a certain emotional experience, and, because of this, the conviction of the overpowering burden of sin. One might seek aid everywhere but to no avail. Man in himself was insufficient. All he could do was to wait, read the scriptures, engage in devotional conversation, visit the sick and surrender himself wholly to God. Finally, after remorse and anguish, the subject might feel a sense of great peace, forgiveness and salvation. Usually the change was accompanied by a highly emotional state and even ecstasy.

If the individual story of each of these first Protestant missionaries to China could be told here it would be a long testimony to the effects of such conversions coming out of the great religious revival in the West, of the stories of need sent back home by missionaries, and of the news of strange lands brought by ex-

plorers who, like Cook, were the pioneers of an expanding Europe. We must be satisfied with the description of these typical examples of the opening period and proceed to an examination of their motives in coming.

1. DISCOVERY OF THE PACIFIC

The discovery of the Pacific by these pioneers was the result of the conditions of the time. The knowledge of

the existence of the Pacific was known to the world since the discovery of the Americas. The knowledge of the Pacific was known to the world since the discovery of the Americas. The knowledge of the Pacific was known to the world since the discovery of the Americas.

Chapter I

The Pioneer Period

By motive we mean that which incites action. The motive may usually be discovered in the stated purpose of the action or in the methods used. Our desire to act in certain ways comes from our supply of knowledge and from our interpretation of it, that is, our theology and philosophy. This is a brief way of saying that we may best judge motives, first, by the conditions which give rise to those actions; second, by the theology and philosophy expressed in them; and third, by the general methods used. It is from these angles that we must judge the motives of the Protestant missionaries going to China and of the people at home sending them.

First, let us take the period to the first treaty between China and the West (1842). It is rightly called the pioneer period, for during the years 1807 (arrival of the first Protestant missionary) to 1842 the Protestants hammered at the doors of China without a welcome.

I. Conditions of the Period.

The first source of the motive of these pioneers was in the conditions of the times.¹ The knowledge of

1. Exploration, expansion, knowledge of foreign countries following the Industrial Revolution, and the religious revival, described in Introduction pp. 1-7.

idolatry among millions of heathen, brought by explorers in a time of great religious enthusiasm, kindled missionary zeal. Likewise news of

"sickness, famine, ignorance, all made their appeal."¹

This knowledge brought with it responsibility. Robert Morrison wrote to a friend:

"Take into account the 350,000,000 souls in China who have not the means of knowing your Christ as Saviour. Think seriously of your obligations to Jesus."²

Morrison further indicated this feeling of vast need in a letter to the Directors at home (ca. 1808):

"I am cheered with the hope that my labours in my present confinement will be of some service in the diffusion of Divine Truth amongst the millions of China."³

Peter Parker gives us further indication that the spread of knowledge was accomplishing its results in the lives of Protestant Christians. On deciding to become a missionary he gives us this reason for doing so:

"Why should I prefer a foreign to a domestic mission? The condition of the heathen in foreign lands is more wretched than in this country; their rites and idolatry more cruel and brutalizing. As far as I am acquainted the

1. Christian Education in China, N. Y., 1922, pp. 23-34.

2. Marshall Broomhall, Robert Morrison, London, 1924, p. 31.

3. Ibid., p. 58.

condition of our Indian tribes is enviable when compared with the infanticide, the self-immolation, the inhuman treatment of females in Africa, India, and among the Mohammedans generally; and the prospects of the pagans in our own country are far more cheering."¹

Charles Gutzlaff, the first German Protestant missionary to China, was also aroused by news of the backwardness, despotism, and spiritual destitution of the Chinese.

"In China where (there is) adherence to antiquated customs and despotism,...efforts are needed to rectify and rouse them....the long and unaccountable neglect of the churches to provide for the spiritual wants of so many millions, must no longer fix a stigma on Protestantism."²

He sailed to Singapore to study Chinese so that he might help in the salvation of that great Empire where these people lived. We have already indicated that S. Wells Williams, sailed in 1833 because of the spiritual and intellectual condition of the "heathen" and his desire to help supply the need for books with which to Christianize them.

Thus two of the conditions which help us to understand the motive of these first Protestant missionaries

1. Geo. B. Stevens, Life of Peter Parker, M. D., Boston, 1896, p. 47.

2. Chas. Gutzlaff, China Opened, Vol. II, London, 1838, pp. 236-237.

3. Introduction p. 15.

were first, an increase of knowledge about China; and second, the conditions in China pictured by the news bearers -- as a teeming mass of millions of people living in pitiable conditions of idolatry, and social and physical illness, famine, ignorance and superstition. S. Wells Williams wrote to a secretary of the American Board, July 20, 1832,

"I see three-fourths the world in a state of heathenism or half-idolatry.... That side weighs heaviest. The way of duty is plainest and in the end easiest."¹

One was a condition of the world-- a new world communication; the other, the actual condition of China from which she had to be rescued. China had to be saved from herself -- morally, religiously, and otherwise. This sense of need has always and continues to motivate missions.

II. Theology.

The rescue motive had foundations in the actual conditions, but it was accentuated by its basis in the theology of the Christian people of the age. A Letter of the American Board to the public in 1811 reads:

"This nation it is true is a great distance from us; but is it not composed of our brethren, descended from the same common parents, involved

1. Quoted by F. W. Williams, Life and Letters of S. Wells Williams, N. Y., 1889, p. 44.

in the same fatal apostasy from God, and inhabiting the same world, to every creature in which the Savior has directed that his gospel be preached? In imparting the word of life to the hundreds of millions ready to perish in Asia and Africa they (London Missionary Society) need and desire our help."¹

Take also the attitude toward other religions.

Christians believed that these were false,² that they were the inventions of Satan. Morrison appealed for,

"embassies of pardoning mercy to the guilty, of peace to the bitterest enemies; of salvation to perishing sinners; of conflict with the powers of darkness where Satan and idols are enthroned."³

1. American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions Report, 1810-1820, Boston, 1834, p. 10

2. "The History of Missions shows that various motives have functioned in the spread of Christianity. These may be classified under two heads. One class of motives is concerned chiefly with the advancement of the individual or his social group and is interested in self or in a limited group.... This first is illustrated in Christian Missions by the individual who seeks his own spiritual development or the advancement of his sect in missionary activity. This one finds no witness of God in the ethnic faiths of the world and regards Christianity as antagonistic to these faiths."

Webster further points out that such an egoistic motive is characterized by a selfish sectarianism. Its love is selfish, its methods competitive, propagandistic, and it rules by force through fear.

J. B. Webster, Christian Education and the National Consciousness in China, N. Y., 1923, pp. 18-20.

3. Quoted by Marshall Broomhall, Robert Morrison, London, 1924, p. 27.

He further described the Chinese and their religion:

"They worship and serve the creature rather than the Creator; they are haters of the true God, are filled with unrighteousness, fornication, and wickedness."¹

Their followers were consequently depraved, doomed, and damned throughout eternity.

"Early missionaries regarded the heathen worldas utterly depraved and doomed, feeding on lies and clinging to religions that were the invention of the devil.... They set themselvesto snatch those whom they could reach from the death in which they seemed already involved."²

This statement is borne out by Mrs. Henrietta Shuck:

"The cause of missions,"

she said in a letter to her teacher, written while she was still in school,

"lies near my heart. I feel greatly for the poor dying heathen. The sincere prayer of my heart is, Oh! that I were qualified to become a missionary of the cross!... If by parting with all that's dear by the ties of nature, I could promote the cause of Christ in heathen lands, I would, leaving them in the hands of the allwise Protector, take the parting hand, and amongst the benighted heathen would I labor unto death. And if, at last, I should be the means of rescuing one heathen from eternal woe, I should be amply compensated for all the difficulties and trials which I might have to undergo."³

The only salvation was through acceptance of and ad-

1. Quoted by Richard Lovett, The History of the London Missionary Society, 1889, Vol. II, pp. 400-401.

2. William E. Strong, Story of the American Board, N. Y., 1910, p. 334.

3. Quoted by J. B. Jeter, Memoir of Mrs. Henrietta Shuck, Boston, 1848, pp. 23-24.

herence to the word of God as brought through Jesus, His messenger on earth. This belief is stated by Mrs. Henrietta Shuck in a letter to the pupils of her former Sunday School class. It shows clearly the power of this belief to motivate missions.

"Love to the souls of the poor perishing heathen constrains me to forsake innumerable enjoyments of my own dear, lovely, country, and take up my abode in a land of moral darkness. I go cheerfully, yes, I long to be pointing the wretched idolaters to the Lamb of God, which alone can take away sin."¹

John Hopkins Denison pointed out before the annual meeting (1908) of the American Board that the first motive of missions came from the belief that all heathen who had no opportunity to learn of Christ were damned.²

It is true that, from the first, Protestant missions to China carried with them the social gospel. Robert Morrison and many others of this period were engaged in literary and educational work; and Peter Parker began his medical work in the thirties. But this type of work was from a different motive than that of pure social service. The first missionaries were primarily interested in rescuing immortal souls from a lost world, not

1. Quoted by J. B. Jeter, Memoir of Mrs. Henrietta Shuck, Boston, 1846, p. 27.

2. "New Motives and changed purposes in Missions," The Haystack Centennial, Report of the American Board, 1908, Boston, 1907, pp. 84-90.

in transformation of the present one.¹ The American Board included this statement in its report of 1810:

"When millions are perishing for lack of knowledge (of Christ) shall those millions be left to perish?"²

The social gospel was practiced, but largely as a means to securing the furtherance of the evangelical side.

The purpose of Samuel Dyer³ in preferring to teach brings this out:

"You will kindly permit me to speak freely as to any predilection I may have for preaching or scholastic pursuits. I think I have more talent for the latter.... I confess I should not like to be entirely engaged in teaching classics,...because I wish to be personally instrumental in leading sinners to Jesus."⁴

The emphasis was to a large extent on future worldliness and salvation. The heathen were urged to accept creed in order to save them from future torment.⁵ This grew out of conservative conceptions of Heaven, Hell,

1. McAfee points out that an element of this group still exists today: "In the mission field, as at home, there prevail two extreme schools of Christian advocates: The rescue group hold the Christian Gospel as a way of saving men from a lost world, etc...."

Cleland Boyd McAfee, Changing Foreign Missions, N. Y., 1927, pp. 260-261.

2. A. B. C. F. M. Report, 1810-1820, Boston, 1834, pp. 12-14.

3. See. p. 16, Introduction.

4. Reply to a letter from Robert Morrison, quoted by Evan Davies, Memoir of the Rev. Samuel Dyer, London, 1846, p. 39.

5. James Hopkins Denison, "New Motives and Changed Purposes in Missions," The Haystack Centennial, Report of the American Board, 1906, Boston, 1907, pp. 90-92.

God and Satan which today smack of the unmoral and magical.

The result of this was the emphasis on verbal acceptance of Christ, accompanied by a rather set form of conversion. The success of missions was judged to a large extent by the number of converts. The number of souls passing into Hell every day because they had not heard the name of Christ could be estimated. It was therefore the moral obligation of every Christian to spread the news of Christ, of his love shown on the cross, and of God's mercy and forgiveness, as fast as possible to all the people of the earth. The expansion was a geographic one, beginning at Jerusalem and stretching around the world.

We have spoken of the subordination of the social motive to personal evangelism. We do not mean to say the latter was not important, for it was. The report of the American Board, 1811, reads:

"The enormity of the heathen superstition, and the unutterable evils which march in its train, stand forth to view in all their hideous proportions. Now is the time for Christ to come forward, boldly, and engage earnestly in the great work of enlightening and reforming mankind."¹

But the difference from the later emphasis of this side

1. A. B. C. F. M. Report, 1810-1820, Boston, 1834, p. 28.

was the manner in which social betterment was thought to come and the reason for which it was brought. Gatzlaff and some others thought that when the Word of God was spread social welfare would follow naturally.

Gatzlaff said,

"Every useful art and science follow naturally in the train of the Gospel, and are made subservient to the advancement of the good cause."¹

The Gospel seemed to many to be a panacea for all ills - social and international, as well as personal; physical as well as spiritual. The social gospel and philanthropy were thought to be means rather than ends. Morrison took this for granted when he said,

"It is my opinion, that conveying the proclamation of Divine Mercy to the human mind, by any means, whether by schools, colleges, the press, or the pulpit, is virtually 'proclaiming the Gospel', and obeying the Divine Precept."²

Hospital work was justified on this basis. Well men were more likely, through gratitude, to accept the religion of the one who healed them. Peter Parker considered his medical work as such a means:

"Of course the principal object in establishing the hospital was to prepare the way for Gospel truth.... While under treatment they often spent their leisure hours pouring over such reading as

1. Charles Gatzlaff, China Opened, Vol. II, London, 1928, pp. 236-237.

2. Quoted by Marshall Broomhall, Robert Morrison, London 1924, p. 183.

the missionary was pleased to give, and when restored to health they took their Bibles and their good books with them to their homes; and thus the seed of the Kingdom was scattered."¹

The mere healing of social and physical ills was not in itself the prime motive of these branches of services. Diseases were not things deserving of their very nature to be cured, but cure was brought as a means of higher healing.

Along with this feeling of great spiritual need of the heathen often came a strange call, direct from God, as if He had given a verbal command. James Legge, who sailed in 1839, wrote in 1877;

"He who desires to be a missionary desires to do a good work; and he who pursues it humbly and wisely, with the consecration of all his powers, will have increasing satisfaction in reflecting on his course and....will bless the God who called him from his country and his kindred and his father's house to go into the mission field."²

This call came, so some thought, clearly, forcefully, and independently of man's reasoning or arguments.

Peter Parker affords an interesting example. In a letter to the American Board he wrote:

"Looking to God for direction, that he would enable me to answer the question impartially, that I might have no will in opposition to His,

1. Rev. Chas. F. Bush in an address about Parker, quoted in Peter Parker, M. D., Boston, 1898, p. 324, by Geo. B. Stevens.

2. Quoted by Helen Edith Legge, James Legge, London, 1905, pp. 9-10.

but that his adorable will might be the rule of my conduct, as it is the law of the universe, I sensibly realized if he should approve my becoming a missionary it should be of minor importance what men would think. On the other hand, should he disapprove, vain would be their approbation, however much they might laud the undertaking, and however loud they might be in praise of my qualifications for such a work."¹

Men did not analyze it sufficiently to find that it actually arose out of a knowledge of conditions. It came from much the same theology as the belief in the direct answer to prayer of the intervention type. Man's greatest battle was in the decision to leave all in the hands of God and be willing to be bent in any direction by His will. When this was decided, God led and guided, often very mysteriously.² The decision was very much like that of conversion. In Elijah Bridgman we find a peculiar turn of this call:

"At the age of eleven he read missionary intelligence about the heathen — their wants, conditions — the success of missionaries, etc., his feelings were enlisted, so much that he remarked to a young convert, 'I should love to go and preach the Gospel to the Armenians'. While in College his interest increased. During his first year in Andover his wishes became purposes."

1. Quoted by Geo. B. Stevens, Peter Parker, M. D., Boston, 1896, p. 54.

2. John Childs points out that in the old idea of prayer men transcended self and received revelations through mystical union with God which needed no further testing. This was the type of many of the early missionary calls.

John L. Childs, "Evolution of a Missionary's Thought," in The Life, Peking, (periodical), July, 1925, pp. 20-23.

and he resolved that if God should open the way, 'to go to the heathen'. 'The exercises of my mind,' he remarks, 'were somewhat those which I had when I was determining the question whether I would follow Christ or not.'¹

A letter from his sister Laretta also indicates, that his missionary interest was entirely dependent on God's call:

"In your letter to father and mother you say that if it is the will of our Heavenly Father that you should, it is your present determination to go and preach the Gospel to the heathen.... If it is your wish to go, and you feel that you can be more useful among the heathen than in your own country, they can only say to you, Go.... Some must go to the heathen."²

It was a sense of this kind of call that sent out many of these pioneers.

A slightly different type of motive was that derived from an agreement with Jesus or God, a promise to serve Him if He would only give assurance of salvation. Men felt that they had a contract with Jesus, the end of which was to preach to the heathen. This personal covenant with God is testified to by William Milne and others. It is said of Milne,

"He had now an earnest desire to dedicate himself completely to God by some kind of solemn engagement to which he might look back in future years, and he wanted to do this in the way of a personal covenant. He had found this reo-

1. Quoted by E. J. Bridgman, Elijah Bridgman, N. Y., 1884, pp. 34-35.

2. Ibid., pp. 10-11.

commended in a book he had read. Accordingly he determined to choose the Lord as his God... and later decided to become a missionary."¹

The pure desire to be of service, followed by a study of the opportunities, and often accompanied by a spirit of romance — especially to go where it was difficult and dangerous to live for Christ — induced some to become missionaries to China.

"How can I be of greater service in the cause of my Master?"

This question Abael asked himself. Later he expressed this motive for going into missions:

"I go to do all the good I can; I go, at least, with a strong desire to be unreservedly and eternally dedicated to the service of God."³

1. This, might be held by some to be a selfish motive, designated for one's own spiritual development in return for some service rendered the Lord. "William Milne", Vanguard of the Christian Army, London, p. 158.

2. Romance was usually aroused by the desire to emulate other missionaries whose tales of adventure were every where in those days. Whether it is another of Webster's egoistic motives is uncertain but its actual presence is testified to by the account of Pastor Jeter of Miss Hall's, later Mrs. Henrietta Shuck, fitness for missions:

"Miss Hall, from the commencement of her religious life, seems to have cherished the missionary spirit. This spirit she was likely to imbibe. Her disposition, ardent, bordering on the romantic, her reading, her associations, the frequent conversations on Christian missions in her father's family, and above all, her fervent piety, would have led an intelligent observer to expect, that she would have a desire to emulate the example of the devoted and excellent women whose labors and sufferings, in the missionary enterprise, have awakened throughout the Christian world, so lively an interest, and so deep a sympathy."

J. B. Jeter: Memoirs of Mrs. Henrietta Shuck, Boston, 1846, p. 22.

3. G. R. Williamson, Memoirs of Rev. David Abael, N. Y., 1848, pp. 51-52.

Gratitude to God for the gift of His Son, and to Jesus for his atonement added to the consecration. This made up a part of the complex motive of Morrison:

"Gratitude to the Saviour, to whom the written word led his mind, and a desire to promulgate the salvation which is in Jesus, induced him to offer his services to the church."¹

This desire to make some return to his Savior entered Parker's motive:

"What are my motives? By what was I actuated? What was it first? What is it now? After Christ had formed in me the hope of glory I was led to inquire what return I should make to him.... My attention was first called to the condition of the heathen, with a desire to make known to them the precious Saviour. Such passages of Scripture as the following always affected me particularly: 'The harvest is great, but the laborers are few.' 'No man has left father or mother, sister or brother, houses and lands for my sake, and the gospel's, but he shall receive an hundred fold more in this life, and in that which is to come, life everlasting.' I am thus inclined to look on my motives as pure and disinterested."²

All men — so it was believed, had a right to the love of Christ and God and redemption from sin (through the atonement viewed in a substitutionary sense); and gratitude for one's own salvation could be shown by no better way than making the Savior known to others. Peter Parker illustrates this point. He wrote to his sister,

1. Quoted from Marshall Broomhall, Robert Morrison, London, 1924, pp. 23, 24.

2. Quoted by Geo. B. Stevens, Life of Peter Parker, M. D., Boston, 1898, p. 48.

"It is for the sake of Christ you part with your only brother; it is that he may bear the tidings of your Saviour's love to the millions of China; and I trust that you bless God.... that he may be instrumental in scattering the light of the 'glorious gospel of the blessed God' in the benighted portions of the earth."¹

Gutzlaff held it to be the duty of every true missionary

"to strain.... every nerve for glorifying the Redeemer; to make his amazing love, his sufferings, his power to save, his resurrection and omnipotence, the constant theme of discourses Only men actuated by the love of God can persevere to the end (in such a work). China is open to Christian heroes and martyrs, but shut against a weak faith and wavering mind."²

Another incitement to the missionary was the direct command of Jesus, "Go ye". These instructions were given in the Bible, the inspired revelation of God. Such commands were thought to be binding upon every individual, and it was necessary for those who did not answer them to give reasons for not doing so. Morrison said,

"I learn from thy Word, O Jesus, that it is thy holy pleasure that the Gospel be preached in all the world.... My desire is, O Lord, to engage where laborers are most wanted."³

Jesus desired the Gospel to be preached around the en-

1. Peter Parker in a letter to his sister on his departure for China. Quoted by Geo. B. Stevens, Life of Peter Parker, M. P., Boston, 1898, p. 78.

2. Chas. Gutzlaff, China Opened, Vol. II, London, 1838, pp. 236-237.

3. Marshall Broomhall, Robert Morrison, London, 1924, pp. 22, 24.

tire world. That was enough — no man need ask the reasons. S. Wells Williams wrote to Dr. Anderson, of the American Board, July 30, 1832:

"'Go ye into all the world' still remains as a last command, and one which should be considered attentively. I should think but little of that Christian's ardor, who cannot do anything for his Saviour."¹

The joy accompanying the fulfillment of this command was an added incentive to missionaries. As Mrs. Henrietta Shuck wrote to her teacher,

"I am well convinced,...that the life of a missionary is, by no means, an easy one: to the comfort and care of this world she is a stranger; but she enjoys what, in my estimation, is far better, the presence of the Most High."²

Finally among the elements of theology contributing to this pioneer motive was the desire to bring glory to God. Abeel said:

"My only object is the glory of God in the salvation of the heathen."³

Every convert meant more honor and glory and the devout Christian desired to amass as much of this glory for his heavenly father as possible.⁴ God's need for glory was

1. F. Wells Williams, Life and Letters of S. Wells Williams, N. Y., 1889, p. 44.

2. Quoted by J. B. Jeter, Memoir of Mrs. Henrietta Shuck, pp. 23-24.

3. Quoted by G. R. Williamson, Memoirs of David Abeel, N. Y., 1848, p. 58.

4. See letter to future missionaries, p. 49.

the center of the missionary enterprise in this respect rather than the heathen's need for salvation.

In addition to (1) the conditions in China and the West which caused these pioneers to stake out claims for Christ in China and (2) their theology, there was a feeling on the part of missionaries that if the growing commerce and communication between East and West were to bring the worst elements of the West to China Christ ought to have the opportunity to make his contribution of the best elements, to oppose the ills of political and commercial expansion. To place it in slightly more sentimental terms -- the spiritual King, God, ought to have at least an equal place with earthly and political kings in the expansion of the West. Robert Morrison made this appeal:

"England's King has many affairs in foreign lands, commercial, political, and martial; and it would be to England's disgrace if she could find no able and enlightened men and veteran servants to engage in those important missions. And Zion's King has important affairs in all lands;...and it is to the disgrace of our Zion that she sends not some of the ablest and wisest and holiest of her servants."¹

We have mentioned the fact that from the first Protestant missionaries to China emphasized the social side

1. Quoted in Marshall Broomhall: Robert Morrison, London, 1924, p. 27.

of their work, as closely dependent on the evangelistic side, and for the purpose of preparing the way for the gospel. To proclaim divine mercy by any means was justifiable,

"whether by schools, colleges, the press or the pulpit."¹

Lastly it was felt that some one must go; therefore, why not I? Especially was this a force behind many missionaries, because so comparatively few did decide to go. Peter Parker gave as one of his reasons for preferring the foreign to the domestic mission that there were far more who were disposed to become missionaries to the North American Indians or to go and settle in the great western vale than there were to go to the foreign lands.³ And it was felt that one should not want to do for him what he was not willing to do for himself.

This concludes our discussion of the conditions and theology motivating the pioneer missionaries of Protestantism to China. Let us clear up one probable misunderstanding before we proceed to a narration of the methods used. It might be concluded from what has been said that these early messengers found nothing admirable among the

1. Marshall Broomhall; Robert Morrison, London, 1924, p. 183.

2. See statement of Bridgman's sister, p. 32.

3. Geo. B. Stevens, Life of Peter Parker, M. D., Boston, 1896, p. 47.

Chinese. This is not so. Gutzlaff and Morrison saw in the Chinese a highly civilized people and both speak of the need of the highest type of missionaries to attract them, especially the educated higher classes. Morrison wrote to a friend,

"The undertaking is arduous, my brother, and I seriously entreat you to count the cost. Many among the Chinese are highly refined and well informed; they will not be beneath us but superior."¹

Certainly these people might be ruled by Satan in the matter of religion, for the devil could use wisdom also, and true wisdom had not yet come to be associated by its very nature with true religion. Much that was admirable was found but the good news, the indispensable prerequisite for future happiness and salvation, was lacking and therefore the Chinese were thought of as depraved and hopeless. Morrison says,

"With all their civilization, still envy and malice, deceit and falsehood, to a boundless extent — with a selfish, ungenerous prudence, and a cold metaphysical inhumanity — are the prevalent characteristics of the people of China."²

3. Methods.

We find that the methods used in this pioneer period

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1. Marshall Broomhall, Robert Morrison, London, 1924, p. 31.
 2. Quoted by Richard Lovett, The History of the London Missionary Society, Vol. II, 1889, pp. 400-401.

bear out the motives shown in the theology and conditions described above. That varying methods were considered to contribute to the evangelization of the heathen has been already stated in this chapter. The qualifications thought to be desirable for a missionary of the Gospel bear it out further.

"How great, how numerous the qualifications indispensable to a missionary to China! A sound theology, a thorough education, and a very practical knowledge of medicine and surgery."¹

Thus missions to China in their very beginnings were conceived on varying lines of work -- evangelistic, literary, educational, medical, and other minor social services.²

The type of missions first emphasized was personal evangelism,

"the presentation to individuals of the message of salvation and the winning of them to its acceptance."³

James Hopkins Denison in an address before the Annual Meeting of the American Board in 1806 names this as the typical method of this period of early missions. His

1. George B. Stevens, The Life of Peter Parker, M. D., Boston, 1896, p. 59.

2. This classification quoted from Cornelius H. Patton, The Business of Missions, p. 52. He adds industrial service to his list but this did not become emphasized in China until later.

3. Christian Education in China, N. Y., 1922, pp. 33-34.

statement is well taken, for we find it backed by two such typical workers of the period as Morrison and Bridgman. When the latter was appointed his Prudential Committee, thus instructed him by letter:

"Keep clearly before you,...the actual character and condition of the heathen as the objects of God's moral government, the prospect before them, and their relation to Christ's atonement.... How ineffectual it will be if his followers do not convey to them a knowledge of the Gospel."

Also,

"Amidst all your labors, keep in mind that your primary object is to introduce the Gospel among the Chinese."²

That the missionaries agreed with this view is shown in a letter from Bridgman dated July 31, 1844, in which he describes the findings of a meeting of the entire mission on the 15th day of the same month:

"Preaching the Gospel with a view to the immediate conversion of the Chinese, should be the

1. The attitude of the American Board is clearly indicated by its constitution which states as its object:

"To devise, adopt, and prosecute, ways and means for propagating the gospel among those who are destitute of the knowledge of Christianity." A. B. C. F. M. Report 1810-1820, Boston, 1834, p. 11.

In forming the American Board this vote was taken,

"That there be instituted by this General association a Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, for the purpose of devising ways and means, and adopting and prosecuting measures, for promoting the spread of the gospel in heathen lands." Ibid., p. 10.

2. Elija J. Bridgman, Elijah Coleman Bridgman, N. Y., 1864, pp. 24, 26.

1st, 2nd., and 3rd. objects with us all; this should be prosecuted in all ways and by all means, both in and out of season."¹

In the Missionary Herald, we are told, further, that a part of Bridgman's major work, as outlined by the Prudential Committee, was to converse with individuals, and to preach the Gospel publicly as soon as conditions permitted. Morrison, after having been in China for ten years working largely on translations, admitted that he considered the prime motive of his mission to be personal evangelism:

"To learn the language and by degrees to render the Sacred Scriptures into Chinese was the object which we immediately contemplated.

"Your mission to China now — is furnished with instruments with which to begin the more spiritual part of our labors....in the Lord Jesus.... We or our successors shall see great things if we faint not."³

Bringing the Good News, or evangelism in the technical sense, was the prime motive, and the principal method was bringing it to individuals. All other methods looked toward this one.

1. The Panoplist and Missionary Herald, Vol XL (1844), Boston, p. 32.

2. Ibid., Vol. XXV, (1839), pp. 354-366.

3. Letter from Morrison, September 4, 1817, The Panoplist and Missionary Magazine, Vol. XV, p. 363.

One of these other means was that of interpreting the Gospel through the individual lives of missionaries.

"It has been the opinion even of some well-meaning persons, that if the Bible were translated and distributed among the heathen Christianity would make its own way without religious teachers; in other words without missionaries. No opinion was ever more entirely unsupported by facts and by Scripture.... The demand for living interpreters has been urgent from the days of the Ethiopian treasurer to the present year."¹

The method was not only to give the gospel to individuals but to do so through living representatives.

The third, general method may best be expressed as geographical expansion. As Dr. D. J. Fleming has put it, our missionary task was

"interpreted as a circular one beginning at Jerusalem and extending to the uttermost parts of the earth."²

Missionaries rushed the saving news to every quarter of the earth as fast as possible. J. B. Webster claims that this incentive to natives to accept Christianity on the basis that it was the only salvation was really rule of them by force through fear, which characterized the early missionary methods.³ Whatever the motive, the

1. The Evangelist and Missionary Magazine, Vol. XV, p. 388.

2. Daniel Johnson Fleming, Whither Bound in Missions, N. Y., 1925, pp. 118-120.

3. Jas. B. Webster: Christian Education and the National Consciousness in China, N. Y., 1933, pp. 21-22.

efforts of Gützlaff to quickly spread knowledge of the Gospel to every province, exemplify this method.

Again, social service methods were among those used by the first missionaries.² Gützlaff wrote:

"What ever means can be employed to convince the Chinese people that our religion is love; that whilst it shows the entrance to the Kingdom of Heaven, it confers many earthly blessings — ought to be used to counteract the prejudices of the government, and to conciliate the good will of the nation. Medical assistance gratuitously bestowed has greatly conduced toward that end, and works of charity amongst the many sufferers have answered their purpose. Yet they ought not to be made the sole absorbing objects."³

As is stated here, whatever social service was rendered was considered minor in the light of the importance of eternal salvation, and was usually used as a means to the latter. Anything in the way of method was justifiable if it led toward the accomplishment of this all-important end. In this way Protestant missions to China were from the first linked with the social gospel. It is true that

"the missionary, because he was a Christian, was impelled to relieve suffering and to seek better conditions."⁴

1. K. S. Latourette Class Notes in "History of the Christian Church in China."

2. pp. 29, 38, of this thesis.

3. Rev. Charles Gützlaff, China Opened, Vol. II, London 1838, pp. 235-236.

4. Christian Education in China, N. Y., 1922, pp. 33-34.

but he was at the beginning much more interested in salvation for the future.

Of major importance in this field of method was the translation of literature and its distribution, especially of the Bible, or parts of it. As we have stated before, translation was a large part of the task of Morrison.¹ Bridgman assisted Morrison in this work.² Little opportunity was given for actual contacts with the Chinese except on the outskirts of the empire and this means was pushed to prepare for the time when China would be opened. Gützlaff realized the importance of this first step in evangelism:

"It has been the primary object of the Protestant missionary to enlighten the nation by means of judiciously chosen books, published for gratuitous distributions."³

S. Wells Williams went in 1833 as an addition to this force to help Christianize the Chinese through the printed page.⁴

Similar to this method was that of education.

1. p. 42.

2. "The Prudential Committee have recently appointed the Rev. Elijah C. Bridgman a missionary to labor among those who speak the Chinese language, either in China or the adjacent countries or islands. He will direct his labors to the acquisition of the Chinese language, the distribution of the Scriptures and other books or tracts, which convey a knowledge of the Gospel."

The Missionary Herald, Vol XXV (1829), Boston, pp. 364-6.

3. Rev. Charles Gützlaff, China Opened, Vol. II, London, 1838, p. 234.

4. Introduction p. 15.

Printed matter would do no good unless people could read it. Hence education became a necessity to personal evangelism. Gützlaff pointed out that,

"As a previous step to conversion of China we should expect to see some colleges established."¹

Bridgman, along with his other duties, was to have as

"a principal object at the first....to acquire the language, and to fit himself for a teacher of God in that tongue."²

Timothy Richard, of Welsh descent, is especially notable for his confidence in this method. He gave more credit to the method as a means than probably any man of this period.

"His own decided view....concerned the importance of laying hold of the teachers of China, in the belief that if they were converted the nation might be expected to turn to God."³

Richard was accepted by the B. M. S. in 1839 and did much to spread literature and knowledge of the West among the Chinese and to gain a better understanding of Oriental religions in the West. Lastly, this literary method was necessary for the education of the coming ministry. Bridgman in his letter of July 31, 1844, to the Populist states as a feeling of the entire mission that a seminary

1. Charles Gützlaff, China Opened, Vol. II, London, 1838, p. 235.

2. Letter of Introduction from B. W. G. Olyphant, Elijah J. Bridgman, Elijah Coleman Bridgman, N. Y., 1844, p. 38.

3. Rev. B. Reeve, Timothy Richard, London, p. 28.

of a high order —

"for the purpose of educating those who are hopefully pious and who give promise of being helpers in the work of missions"

should be established as soon as possible.¹ J. B.

Webster has maintained that the small group instincts which played so large a part in the spread of Christianity in early days also played the same role in early Protestant Missions to China and that it was in this egoistic period that education was confined mainly to a few who were to occupy official positions in religion or government.²

The literary method and its aim are well expressed as a whole by the editor of the Panoplist when he quotes from the report of the Directors of the Missionary Society, May 8, 1816, that missions are needed:

1. To translate scripture and tracts.
2. To distribute these.
3. To make them effectual in the lives of the people.
4. For education of the ministry.³

Still other methods were those of medicine, which

1. Panoplist and Missionary Herald, Vol. XI (1844), Boston, p. 32.

2. J. B. Webster, Christian Education and the National Consciousness in China, N. Y., 1923, pp. 31-32.

3. Panoplist and Missionary Magazine, Vol. XII (1816), p. 388.

has been fully emphasized in connection with Dr. Parker's work, and work among the American Seamen. David Abeel was appointed by the American Seaman's Friend Society as

"a missionary to seamen at Canton and the vicinity who speak the English language,"¹

These, in the main, cover the types of work which made up the missionary method of the early period and in each of them we find reflected the theology and philosophy described. Only those methods were emphasized which aided in direct personal evangelization.

Summary.

Let us recall First that the conditions of this period brought a feeling of responsibility on the part of the Protestant Christian World for bringing salvation to a group of millions of people now come into the knowledge of and relation with the West; Second, that the theology and philosophy of the Christianity of the period placed these millions in a state of almost total loss, not merely in the present world but in the future world, until they accepted Christ; and Third, that the method of Protestant missionaries of the period indicates that the main motive was to bring the Good News of God's love for a lost people and of the salvation available through the atonement of Christ by any means which might aid in accomplishing the purpose.

1. Missionary Herald, Vol. XXV (1829), pp. 364-366.

The motives of this pioneer group are, as a whole, well characterized in this letter of caution to future missionaries which was published during the period in one of the leading missionary magazines.

"Are you animated by concern for the glory of God? Does it grieve your soul to think that the Creator and Governor of all things should be unknown in that world which his own hands have made, that the grossest and most distorted representations should be given of the perfections of his nature, and that idols of the basest description should usurp that honor and worship which are due to him alone? Are you influenced by the love of Christ? Does the grace of the Redeemer constrain you thus to judge, that if he came from heaven to earth, and assumed the human nature into union with the divine, and suffered, and bled, and died, for your salvation, 'you should not henceforth live unto yourself, but to him who died for you; that you are no longer your own, that you are bought with a price, and therefore you should glorify him with your body and with your spirit which are his;' that you should consecrate yourself, all that you are, and all that you have, to his service? Are you moved with compassion for immortal souls? Does it melt your heart to consider the temporal miseries of the heathen world, consisting of so many millions of your fellow-creatures, but especially to think that they are exposed to the wrath, the everlasting wrath of God Almighty? Does this kindle your soul an ardent desire to carry to them the glad tidings of salvation; to rescue them from devouring fire, from everlasting burnings, and to raise them to glory, honor, and immortality in heaven? Such are the ruling motives which ought to influence the Christian missionary; and unless they are the animating principles of your life, you may rest assured you are not called of God to engage in this interesting work."¹

1. The Missionary Herald, Vol. XXI, 1825, Boston, p. 65.

Chapter II

China Opened

1842, 44, 1858, 60.

By the early forties of the nineteenth century it began to be commonly accepted that the Protestant missionary enterprise to China was to be something more than a transient phenomenon. The East India Company's statement, made when Morrison first went out, that the missionary enterprise was

"the most unwarranted project ever proposed by a fanatic enthusiast",¹

began to look unfounded. At this time we find very definite results of the pioneer missionaries becoming evident.

I. Her Conditions.

These first fruits of early missionary effort, with the treaties of 1842-1844 opening China, the continued religious awakening in Europe and America, and an increased knowledge and understanding of China in the West, form a background to the two main characteristics of the period — the increase of missionaries and the political opening of China which so vitally affected mission work. Walter Lowrie, a Princeton Seminary Graduate and one of the greatest missionaries of the

1. Quoted by Paul Monroe, China - A Nation in Evolution, N. Y., 1928, p. 301.

American Presbyterians, expressed the general feeling when he wrote to a friend in Princeton, June 24, 1842,

"I believe China is now opening;Missionaries can now labour in Hong Kong much more freely than ever before. Hong Kong will soon be perfectly open. Missionaries are now at Amoy and Chusan, places where no Protestant Missionaries have even been before."¹

One of the conditions behind the increase of missionaries was the work of early pioneers. Through them interest was aroused to a higher plane in the West. Men in England and America read letters and articles from missionaries in China and some were influenced to dedicate their lives to the same service. Hudson Taylor attributes the strengthening of his sense of call to labor in China to the perusal of a borrowed copy of Medhurst's China. He was so greatly impressed with the value of medical missions there that his course of studies for the next few years was directed toward acquiring the training of a physician.² Taylor's father had engendered an early missionary interest in his son, also after reading books on China, some of which were evidently of a missionary nature.

1. Letter from Walter H. Lowrie to John Lloyd, quoted in Walter Lowrie: Memoirs of the Rev. Walter H. Lowrie Philadelphia, 1884, p. 105.

2. Marshall Broomhall, Jubilee Story of the China Inland Mission, Philadelphia, 1918, p. 9

Hudson Taylor tells us:

"Many years ago, probably about 1830, the heart of my dear father, then himself an earnest and successful evangelist at home, was deeply stirred as to the spiritual state of China by reading several books, and especially an account of the travels of Captain Basil Hall. His circumstances were such as to preclude the hope of his ever going to China for personal service, but he was led to pray that if God would give him a son, he might be called and privileged to labor in the vast needy empire which was then apparently so sealed against the truth."¹

Matthew T. Yates, pioneer missionary of the American Baptists to China arrived in 1847. He too ascribed his interest in missions to the efforts of an early missionary.

"My attention was first directed to the condition of the heathen world from reading the Memoirs of Mrs. Judson, soon after obtaining, I trust, the remission of my sins. Frequently did I weep for hours, while following my plow, or using my trowel, when I would reflect that the poor heathen, who knew nothing of Jesus Christ, the only Saviour of the world, must die and appear before God to be judged according to their works in this world."²

Through means such as these the missionary force was greatly increased during the fifteen years following 1842-1844.

Another result of past missionary effort was the betterment of facilities with which the missionary labored. The terror of learning the language that

1. J. Hudson Taylor, A Retrospect, Philadelphia, 1900, (3rd. ed.) p. 2

2. Letter dated March 17, 1846, quoted in Charles H. Taylor, The Story of Yates, the Missionary, as told in letters and reminiscences, Nashville, Tenn., 1898, p. 33.

some of "the Singapore missionaries were so anxious to excite"¹ had been removed, as had many other difficulties of the work. Lowrie wrote to John Lloyd in 1843:

"the facilities for learning the language, in the way of elementary books and free access to the people, are vastly better than they were twenty years ago; and every year they are getting better."²

The second condition of China which gave to many missionaries a strong incentive to work there was the political opening of the Empire. The "rock" had at last broken and missionaries were for the first time officially allowed to set foot in China.³

The occasion of the opening was war with England, and its aftermath, resulting from England's forcing trade upon closed China, the immediate cause being the opium traffic.⁴ This conflict resulted in the treaties of 1842 (Nanking) and 1843 (Bogue) with the British, 1844 (Wanghia) with the Americans, and 1844 also (Whampoa) with the French.

1. Letter of W. M. Lowrie from Macao to John Lloyd, Princeton University, May 17, 1843, quoted in Walter Lowrie: Memoirs of the Rev. Walter M. Lowrie, Philadelphia, 1854, p. 172.

2. Ibid.

3. All intercourse had hitherto been confined to Canton.

4. Introduction p. 10 for details.

Included in these were clauses which vitally affected missions.

1. Hongkong was ceded to the British.
2. Canton, Amoy, Shanghai, Ningpo, and Foochow were opened to foreign residence.
3. Churches, schools, and hospitals were allowed in the five treaty ports. Travel and missions were tolerated there.
4. Foreigners were allowed to study the Chinese language, a right which had hitherto been prohibited.
5. The "most favored nation" clause which guaranteed to all foreign nations the enjoyment of equal privileges.
6. Extraterritoriality. American citizens in China were to have access to American courts and law.¹

1. These clauses are fully outlined in K. S. Latourette History of Early Relations Between the United States and China, 1784-1844, New Haven, 1917, pp. 119, 120, 140-142.

The terms of the American Treaty are there quoted from a letter from Caleb Cushing, then American Consul to China, to John Nelson, July 4, 1844, found in Senate Document 67, 28 Congress, 2 Session, p. 77. A complete discussion of points of the Nanking and other treaties is found in H. B. Morse, International Relations of the Chinese Empire, vol. 1, London, 1910, pp. 301-332. Quotations there are made directly from British Treaty Nanking, 1842, and other official documents.

K. S. Latourette: History of Early Relations Between the United States and China, New Haven, 1917, p. 142.

H. B. Morse: International Relations of the Chinese Empire, vol. 1, London, 1910, pp. 119-120.

Added to this was an edict of toleration which permitted Chinese after 1845 to accept the Protestant Christian faith.¹ The effects of these measures were revolutionary.

"The interest aroused through the missionary world by the war had been far greater than that in the commercial world, and when the progress of events made it certain that some of the old restrictions would be withdrawn the greatest enthusiasm followed."²

"With the signing of the first group of treaties, the opening of the five treaty ports, and the occupation of Hong Kong, missionary efforts were redoubled."³

Strong in relating the history of the American Board, shows the great influence these treaties had on the work of that body in China.

"At once, upon the opening of Chinese ports to foreign residents, the Board reached out to get a stronger hold upon the empire. The very year of the new treaty (1842) Dr. Abel, accompanied by missionaries of the American Episcopal Church, made a trip up the coast to Amoy, to see if there was an opening there. A like visit was made by Mr. Williams to Hong-kong, the latter place, which as a result of the war had leaped from a barren island to a substantial city under British rule, being occupied for a time as a station."⁴

1. K.S. Latourette class notes in History of the Christian Church in China.

2. K.S. Latourette: History of Early Relations between United States and China, 1784-1844, New Haven, 1917, p. 120.

3. K.S. Latourette: Development of China, Boston, 1924, p. 162.

4. William E. Strong, Story of the American Board, N.Y., 1910, pp. 119-120.

Bridgman, of whom we have spoken before, a member of the mission staff of the American Board, affirms this view on the opportunity presented by the opening of China.

"Protestant Missions in China, few at present, are now in position to accomplish much good. With free access to the people at Canton, Amoy, Chusan, Ningpo, and Shanghai they can make the Gospel known to many millions."¹

James Legge, Scotch by birth, who came out under the London Missionary Society in 1839 and became prominent in educational work, was much encouraged over the implications of the new treaty for missions. He wrote in 1842 from Malacca when the war was drawing to a close,

"Last week the news came that the preliminaries of peace had been agreed upon between the Plenipotentiary and the Commissioners from the Emperor. I had them translated and posted upon the walls, to the no small excitement of the people. Most of them seem quite pleased with the idea of free commerce. How important an event is the throwing open of China to European intercourse and enterprise. This treaty is the lifting up of the scene for a mighty drama."²

How much had depended upon the opening of China was expressed by William J. Boone, worker under the Episcopal Board at this time and the leading missionary of his church.³

1. Elija Coleman Bridgman in "Repository", May, 1845. Quoted in Elija J. Bridgman, Elija Coleman Bridgman. N.Y., 1864, p. 134.

2. Helen E. Legge, James Legge -- Missionary and Scholar, London, 1905, p. 24.

3. He was the first Bishop in a foreign country.

In June, 1841, he wrote,

"There is but one single barrier to the establishment of missions among these millions(of) heathen and that barrier of a political nature which may be removed in a day, and which will probably break down upon the demise of some Monarch, perhaps of the present, if indeed the British do not throw open to our residence, before the current year is past, cities whose inhabitants will outnumber all the inhabitants of our Atlantic cities put together."¹

Thus it was that the determination to throw in reinforcements in expectation of the opening of China was greeted by the actual opening itself, and more attempts were made to increase the forces. Walter Lowrie speaks for the addition to the Presbyterian group.

"During the year 1844, the missionary force in China was much enlarged. In February, D.B. McCartee, M.D., and Mr. A. Cole, printer, and his wife, reached China. The Rev. A.Q. Way and his wife arrived in July, and the Rev. Messrs. J. Lloyd, A. P. Happer, M.D., A. W. Loomis, and W. S. Culbertson, with Mrs. Loomis and Mrs. Culbertson, in October."²

At the end of the first few years of work under the new conditions Bridgman noted growth over the entire field.

1. "Spirit of Missions", organ of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States, vol. VI (1841), N.Y., p. 366.

2. Walter Lowrie, Memoirs of the Rev. Walter M. Lowrie, Philadelphia, 1884, p. 221.

W. M. Lowrie was at that time the missionary of longest service in that Board. Hence he was given the responsibility of locating the new workers, Ibid.

In 1850 he wrote:

"More than twenty years have now passed since the first messengers from the churches in America reached 'the land of Sinim'. When 'the beloved Abel' and myself arrived here, there was in all this wide field only one Protestant Mission, and only limited access to the people at one port.In the twenty years what changes have we seen! Morrison, Abel, and many others.....have gone to their rest; yet nearly a hundred laborers, men and women, have free access to millions of the people. The first fruits of a great and glorious harvest begin to appear."¹

From these statements we are justified when we say that the opening of China and the enlarged number of missionaries were the two outstanding changes in the conditions of the time. It is true that the opening was only partial and the treaty provisions were not wholly satisfactory but at least compared to the years before 1842 China was open. It was for the treaties of 1858 and 1860 to go further in the political opening of the country.

Missionaries have been accused of siding with militarism and imperialism in China. It is true that certain of these early missionaries did serve as representatives of these governments which were forcing the doors of China and it may be judged from their foregoing statements regarding the opening that they were glad to see the Empire entered by any means.

1. Elija J. Bridgman, Elijah Solomon Bridgman, N.Y., 1864, p. 185.

Three missionaries, Bridgman, Parker and Gützlaff¹ served as interpreters when the first treaties were negotiated. Bridgman's attitude is clearly seen from a section of his monthly journal:

"Clear it is that a great revolution has commenced. We rejoice at these things, not so much, indeed, on account of what has been effected already as because of what is coming. Evidently an Almighty hand is directing these movements, and will carry on Divine purposes undisturbed; yet it is equally evident, that, in such times as these, human responsibility must be very great."²

Bridgman and Parker both had the consent of the Society to which they were attached to act as joint Chinese Secretaries of the American Legation for a time, and Dr. Bridgman, also, was chaplain.³

It is true that the clause giving extraterritorial privileges had a semi-religious background. Cushing on September 29, 1844, wrote to Calhoun:

"the states of Christendom 'acknowledge the authority of certain maxims and usages.... called the law of nations, but which is in fact only the international law of Christendom.... (They) have a common origin, a common religion, a common intellectuality, allowing free residence and travel and they hold a regular and systematic intercourse as governments.... All these facts impart to the states of Christendom many of the qualities of one confederate republic.' China, not because she was inferior in civilization, but

1. Vanguard of the Christian Army, London, p. 213.

2. Elijah J. Bridgman, Elijah Coleman Bridgman, N. Y., 1864, p. 126.

3. Ibid., pp. 126, 127.

because she was not of the family of Christendom, was neither recognized nor could be treated according to this law, and so the citizens of European countries should not be made subject to her laws."¹

The only interpretation which we may make of these statements is that the general attitude of the missionaries favored forcing the doors of China. They did not favor the opium traffic,² nor did they intend to favor a selfish Western Imperialism. As indicated in most cases their motive was the desire to see China opened to the Gospel.

The last condition of the times that we shall mention is the greatly increased knowledge and understanding of, and interest in the Chinese and their customs, manners, and faiths. This understanding caused a changed attitude and motive as we shall see in our discussion of the theology of the period. There sprang up some sympathy, and the recognition of value in the Chinese, even in their religion. Strong says:

"A closer acquaintance with these people, bringing better knowledge of their customs and faith, their ideals and modes of thought, did not lessen the sense of horror over their

1. House Executive Document 69, 28 Congress, 2 Session, and in Senate Document 58, 28 Congress, 2 Session, quoted in K. S. Latourette, History of Early Relations between the United States and China, 1784-1844, New Haven, 1917, p. 141.

2. K. S. Latourette, History of Early Relations between the United States and China, 1784-1844, New Haven, 1917, p. 111. Also class notes in "History of the Christian Church in China."

condition and pity for the bondage of superstition. But it did bring an apprehension of the religious spirit underlying the crude and mistaken forms and of some points of truth and value in many of the Oriental faiths to which appeal could be made, and beyond that, of the potential strength of the races which might be won for the building up of the wide Kingdom of God on earth."¹

This interest and understanding came as a result of the missionary effort before this time, as is shown in the first part of this chapter, of the increased trade with China², and of the continued religious awakening in Europe and America.

To sum up the general conditions of this period in which we might find any cause for a change in the nature or strength of the motive of Protestant missionaries. First there were the fruits of the pioneer missionaries, the firm establishment of the mission project, which with the awakening in European Protestant circles inspired many new missionaries to come out, the breaking down of the first wall of prejudices of the Chinese minds (the first converts are usually said to be the hardest), and the betterment of missionary

1. William E. Strong, Story of the American Board, N.Y., 1910, p. 334.

2. K. S. Latourette, Early Relations Between the United States and China, 1784-1844, New Haven, 1917, pp. 123-124.

1. p. 1 of this chapter, p. 52.

facilities; second, the political opening of the Empire which gave an opportunity for closer contact with the people and made an opening for a larger number of missionaries; and third, an increased knowledge and understanding of China in the West, bringing greater interest and recognition of value in China and things Chinese.

2. Theology.

Let us examine the theology of the envoys of Protestantism to China during these years. As a whole, it was practically the same as that of the earlier period; but one very vital change is noted which promised to transform the basis of missionary motive, the view of a few that the Chinese had actually known the true God and that their religion was not entirely false. A detailed consideration of these points will bear out this statement.

Most of the missionaries still believed, as had their fathers, that all non-Christians were heathen and doomed to spiritual, moral and physical death and punishment. The acceptance of Jesus Christ alone could save them. Walter Lowrie¹ relates that when coming to China on the "Huntress" in 1842 a young sailor

1. p. 1 of this chapter., p. 50.

2. Marshall Doolittle, *Journal of the China Inland Mission*, Philadelphia, 1910, p. 12.

asked him if any of the heathens were saved who never heard of Christ. Lowrie says:

"I told him I thought not, - speaking of adult heathens; and mentioned several passages in 1 Romans, that induced me to think as I did."¹

Thus men found grounds for such belief in a literal interpretation of the Bible. John Livingston Nevius, another Princeton man and representative of the Presbyterian Board of this period (sailed 1853), pointed to the blood of Jesus as the only salvation for the heathen. He wrote in 1853 to his fiancée, Helen S. Coan,

"I would that wecould love the souls of the perishing more, for the cleansing of whom the blood of Jesus Christ, and that alone, suffices."²

Hudson Taylor, who first sailed under the China Evangelical Society in 1853 but who in 1866 became the founder of that notable body, the China Inland Mission, made a statement in 1862, in a letter to his mother which was characteristic of the belief generally held by the body under which he sailed:

"O mother, I cannot tell you, I cannot describe how long to be a missionary; to carry the Glad Tidings to the poor perishing sinners;...."³

1. Lowrie's Journal, March 14, 1842, quoted in Walter Lowrie, Memoirs of the Rev. Walter M. Lowrie, Philadelphia, 1854, p. 75

2. Helen S. Coan Nevius, Life of John Livingston Nevius, N.Y., ca. 1895, p. 106

3. Marshal Broomhall, Jubilee Story of the China Inland Mission, Philadelphia, 1915, p. 10

Lowrie, also, indicated that with all the good qualities of the Chinese, one must remember they are heathen:

"These missionaries at Amoy and Chusan, where the people have not as yet been corrupted by the evil influence and example of foreigners, represent them as an uncommonly interesting people, easy of access, and free in their manners. They are heathen of course, and have the vices of heathen."¹

This belief in Christianity as the only salvation for the heathen and the only true religion naturally would lead Protestant Christianity to compete with other religions and even with Catholicism. George Smith, an Anglican, Consecrated Bishop of Victoria (Hongkong) in 1849, after making an exploration visit to the main cities of Coastal China for his Church, in 1847 used this appeal:

"Popery is already sending its agents with redoubled activity. The impostor of Mecca, also for 600 years has had his numerous followers scattered over the neighboring islands, and on the forbidding soil of China itself, where Islam triumphing, not by the usual methods of fire and sword, but by the milder arts of proselytism, has shamed the puny efforts of Christians in a holier cause."²

Whether this evidence is conclusive with regard to Roman Catholicism (it is certainly suggestive) it is

1. Letter to John Lloyd, June 24, 1842, from the China Sea, quoted in Walter Lowrie, Memoirs of the Rev. Walter M. Lowrie, Philadelphia, 1854, p. 105

2. George Smith, A Narrative of an Exploratory Visit to each of the Consular Cities of China, and to the Islands of Hongkong and Chusan. N.Y. 1847, p. 464.

clear that competition with Mohammedanism was not a myth. That this competition was against all other religions as well, may be judged from Smith's statement that it is

"the glorious grace of the Gospel which can alone supply a remedy to the moral and spiritual malady of the pagan world, and infuse comfort, peace, and energy into the soul of the missionary."¹

Out of this belief in the gospel as the only means of salvation arose a sense of the great need of all who had no opportunity to hear it. It was this sense of need that partially motivated Griffith John, who sailed under the London Missionary Society in 1855, to give his life to work among the heathen. He wrote in a letter to the London Missionary Society on March 18, 1853, that his desire to be a missionary came partly from "the deplorable condition of the heathen."²

Lowrie, in writing to his friend, John Lloyd, in 1837, said,

"What is the state of missionary feeling now among you? Do you yet hear the voice, 'Come over and help us?' and the wailing cry, 'And what then?' as it rises from the deathbed of the Hindoo, and, borne across the waste of waters, reaches our ears both from the East and the West..... Or does it die away among the

1. Ibid., p. 463.

2. R. Wardlaw Thompson, Griffith John, London, 1906, pp. 20-21.

crumbling ruins of heathen temples, unheard and unheeded, save by the infidel and the deist? Oh, who is there to come up to the help of the Lord against the mighty? "The soil is ready for the seed, and the seed ready to be sown, but where are the husbandmen? Humanly speaking, souls might be saved, but how can they hear without a preacher?"¹

So far, the theology of this period has been described as being in perfect harmony with that of the early times. But we must point out a vital change in attitude toward non-Christian religions which certainly affected the motive. Whereas the pioneers, so far as we can find, were unanimous in describing the Chinese religion as false, the work of Satan, and the Chinese as totally depraved, now we find a few recognising an element of truth in native conceptions. James Legge², for instance, in 1852 produced a volume entitled, The Notions of the Chinese concerning Gods and Spirits, in which he held that "Shang-Ti" or "Ti" is the proper equivalent in Chinese for the word "God". He says also:

"I maintain that the Chinese do know the true God, and have a word in their language answering to our word God, to the Hebrew Elohim, and to the Greek Theos."³

1. Walter Lowrie, Memoirs of Rev. Walter M. Lowrie, Philadelphia, 1884, pp. 19-20.

2. See p. 7 this chapter, p. 58.

3. Legge, op. cit., Hong Kong, 1852, p. 2.

He further maintained that the religion of the Chinese was similar to Christianity in that it was monotheistic. He heads the first chapter of his work,¹

"That the Chinese know the true God, and that their religion is properly monotheistic."²

He says further, in the Introduction to this work, that

"Shang-Ti parExcellence of the Chinese is the true God, that Elohim, Theos, and God are relative terms, and that Shin means spirit, and, in the translation of the Scriptures, can only be employed to render ruach and pneuma."³

Legge was not alone in holding that the Chinese term for God was Shang-Ti, and that the two ideas had much in common. With him he places Medhurst⁴, Sir George Staunton, Dr. Bowring, and Mr. Doty, all of whom were at that time in China.⁵ Wm. J. Boone, who attacked their idea, also classes these men in the same group.⁶

1. Op. cit. p. 17.

2. Ibid. p. 7.

3. Ibid. p. 1.

4. Medhurst's ideas are expounded fully in a book and a pamphlet - An Inquiry into the Proper Mode of Rendering the Word God in translating the Sacred Scriptures into the Chinese Language, Shanghai, 1848, and "Reply to the Essay of Dr. Boone on the Proper Rendering of Elohim and Theos into the Chinese Language." Canton, 1848.

5. James Legge, Notions of the Chinese Concerning Gods and Spirits, Hong Kong, 1852, p. 1.

6. Ibid. p. 3.

This view had new implications for missions. Formerly missionaries held it as their object to overthrow all foreign religions. But listen to Legge writing at this time:

"We must have a name which will not make void and of none effect the law of God written in their own hearts - a name that shall witness for Jehovah, in harmony with the witness of their own spirits. Such a name we have in Shang-Ti, and I believe in no other term. It has been used by them from time immemorial to denote God, as the Master, Ruler, and Governor of the universe; it is now our privilege and duty to unfold to them His character, and especially to make known to them how He was in Christ, reconciling the world unto Himself, not imputing unto men their trespasses."¹

Thus a new motive arose, to reveal and unfold Him to the Chinese, whom they had already come to recognise as the maker of all things, and whom they had known many years. This was a great step. We have only to compare it with the view of the first missionary, Morrison, to see the change which had occurred. Morrison held that

"China is full of dumb idols, is estranged from the true God, and hates and persecutes the name of Jesus; ... China, the wonder and pity of Christians."²

1. James Legge, Notions of the Chinese Concerning Gods and Spirits, Hong Kong, 1862, p. 64

2. Quoted in Charles Gutschaff, Journal of Three Voyages along the Coast of China, London, 1834, Introduction p. xxi.

That the recognition of such value in Chinese religion was disputed is true. William J. Boone, already mentioned, held firmly that

"the Chinese do not know any being who may truly and properly be called God; they have therefore no name for such a being, no word in their language answering to our word God."¹

But it is known that even Boone used Shang-Ti for God at times and Legge asserts that the majority of the missionaries were in favor of the use of the term,² though we may doubt from the general trend of theology of the period whether more than a few recognized the Chinese conception as resembling the Christian conception.

"In 1843 fifteen Protestant Missionaries met together in Hong Kong to consider the then state of Chinese versions of the Bible... The work of revising was divided into parts, and allotted to missionaries at the various stations in China Difficulty arose as to the choice of the right term to be used for 'God'.³

It was out of this dispute that recognition of the Chinese as knowing God came to be propounded and

1. James Legge, Notions of the Chinese Concerning God and Spirits - with an examination of the defense of An Essay on the Proper Rendering of the Words Elohim and Theos into the Chinese Language. by Wm. J. Boone, Hong Kong, 1852, p. 2.

2. Ibid., pp. 165-166 Boone is recorded to have used the term to denote "God" in some of his public prayers.

3. Helen Edith Legge, James Legge, London, 1905, p. 68.

in 1852 Legge wrote in a letter,

"My opponent allows me the credit of proving that the Chinese do possess the knowledge of God, that they ascribed the making of the heavens and the earth to a personal, independent, and intelligent being."¹

On the other hand Legge held that the worship of the Shin (or spirits) was "to change the glory of God into a lie", because the Shin were created beings, that Shang-Ti should be the being to be worshipped.² The admission of even this element of truth by a few is significant in its implication of a new motive.

Let us examine the call to which the missionaries of this period were subject. It was very similar to that of the early period, a divine leading coming often in a mysterious way. Hudson Taylor's came shortly following his conversion:

"Well do I remember", he wrote later, "how in the gladness of my heart I poured out my soul before God, and again and again confessed my grateful love to Him who had done every thing for me - who had saved me when I had given up all hope and even desire for salvation. I besought him to give me some work to do for Him, as an outlet for love and gratitude; some self-denying service, no matter what it might be, however trying and trivial; something with which He would be pleased and that I might do for Him who had done so much for me. Well do I remember, as in unreserved consecration I put myself, my

1. Helen Edith Legge, Hames Legge, London, 1905, p 69.

2. Ibid.

life, my friends, my all, upon the altar, the deep solemnity that came over my soul with the assurance that my offering was accepted. The presence of God became unutterably real and blessed; and, though but a child,..... I remember stretching myself on the ground and lying there silent before Him with unspeakable awe and unspeakable joy."¹

He continues,

"For what service I was accepted I knew not; but a deep consciousness that I was not my own took possession of me, which has never been effaced.....Two or three years later propositions of an unusually favorable nature were made to me.....But I felt I dared not accept any binding engagement such as was suggested. I was not my own to give myself away.....Within a few months of this time of consecration the impression was wrought into my soul that it was in China the Lord wanted me."²

That such a call might come in answer to prayer is also illustrated in Taylor's case. He writes:

"I was not aware of this desire or prayer (of his father's that he become a missionary to China) until my return to England, more than seven years after I had sailed for China; but it was very interesting then to know how prayer offered before my birth had been answered in this matter."³

Griffith John records a similar call.

"A large number of my ministerial friends were bitterly opposed to my taking this course (becoming a missionary).....I thanked them for their kindness, but assured them...that I must obey the Divine Voice."⁴

1. Marshall Broomhall, Jubilee Story of the China Inland Mission, Philadelphia, 1915, pp. 8-9.

2. J. Hudson Taylor, A Retrospect, Philadelphia, 1900, (3rd ed.) pp. 7-8.

3. Ibid., p. 2.

4. R. Wardlaw Thompson, Griffith John, London, 1906, p. 20.

William C. Burns also was the object of such a call, coming through a profound religious experience.

"At Glasgow University,.....1837-1838", he wrote later, "I was led so deeply to feel my personal responsibility (through the College Missionary Society) in regard to the spread of the gospel among the heathen, that after much prayer and many solemn exercises of the soul, I took the solemn step of writing my father,....that should the church deem me qualified I would be ready to go as a missionary to Hindustan."¹

John Livingston Nevius affords us another example.

He said,

"It is my purpose now, if I do not meet with providential hindrances, to be a missionary to Siam or China. I have come to this decision, not without long and careful consideration, many prayers and mental struggles, and an urgent conviction of duty....I can heartily thank God, if He has called me to this work, for the privilege to engage in it."²

The call of Yates, the American Baptist Missionary, is even more conclusive:

"I am now resolved, and I hope that I have been guided by the Holy Spirit," he wrote to a friend, "that let others say what they may about rushing into danger, I will go wheresoever God, in his providence, may direct me. Since coming to this irrevocable conclusion my feelings and affections seem to have winged their way to China. This enterprise has swallowed up every other."³

1. Burns' Diary. Quoted in Rev. Islay Burns, Memoirs of the Rev. Wm. C. Burns, London, 1885, p. 38.

2. Quoted from a letter to Helen S. Coan, his fiancée, written 1853, in Helen S. Coan Nevius, Life of John Livingston Nevius, N.Y., ca. 1895, p. 105.

3. Letter to Mr. Taylor quoted in Charles E. Taylor, The Story of Yates the Missionary, Nashville, 1898, pp. 34-35.

As is shown in some of these cases, gratitude and love for God and Christ entered in, with a desire to render some sacrificial service. Also the covenant which we found in the call of the pioneer group is found here. These elements are emphasized by Hudson Taylor especially. He said that he longed

"To spend and be spent for Him who died for me."¹

Another call we find which is a repetition of that of the early period is the command of the scriptures to "go and preach the Gospel to every nation". Nevius says

"I have been driven to the determination to be a missionary by a solemn and increasingly oppressive sense of duty taught me by God's word."²

He adds to this motive

"the call of providence and the church and God's Spirit. I feel that few have been so much blessed and are so much indebted to God as I am, and I desire to consecrate my all to him."³

Entering into Griffith John's motive was the desire to help carry out Christ's promise, as stated in the Bible.

1. Letter to his mother, 1852, quoted in Marshall Broomhall, Jubilee Story of the China Inland Mission, Philadelphia, 1915, p. 10.

2. Letter to Helen S. Coan in 1853, quoted in Helen S. Coan Nevius, Life of John Livingston Nevius, N.Y., ca. 1895, p. 109.

3. Ibid., pp. 108-109.

that the Gospel be preached to all men. He says,

"I cannot state exactly when and where this desire (to be a missionary) first occurred to my mind, as the propagation of the Gospel, the fulfillment of Christ's promise that His 'Gospel' should be 'preached' in all the world, have been some of the first subjects to which my attention has been directed, and with which my mind has always been deeply impressed."¹

We are therefore justified in saying that the Bible, viewed as the command of Jesus and God, telling men to go and carry the Gospel throughout the world, was still challenging them to become missionaries to China.

A feeling that the need of other countries was so great that only a special call to the home land should keep them there entered the motive of some missionaries. Burns wrote in his Diary:

".....I felt that unless it appeared that God detained me at home by some special call, I must go to some field where Christ had not been named."²

Burns call was strengthened by a feeling that the prevalence of ecclesiastical questions in the public mind at home was lessening his opportunity for work there.

"Until the disruption I appeared to have a special work to do in my own country, and having no call to the Missionary field, I thought of it no further than this, that I did not feel it would be lawful to settle

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1. Letter to L.M.S. March 18, 1853, quoted in
 2. Wardlaw Thompson, Griffith John, London, 1906, pp. 20-21.
 2. Rev. Islay Burns, Memoir of the Rev. Wm. C. Burns, London, 1885, p. 193.

at home but only to comply with present calls of duty to preach the Word. In1843, and still more in 1844, I found my heart very much drawn off from the home field - the days of God's great power with me seeming to be in a great measure past, and ecclesiastical questions having taken so deep a hold on the public mind, that it was not in a state as before to be dealt with simply about the question of conversion."¹

Thus men were called to the mission field.

Whatever it may have been, the motive certainly grew out of love for the heathen and was unselfish.

Griffith John wrote to his Board,

"Having, as far as it is in my power, examined myself in connection with this most important undertaking, I conscientiously trust that the motives which thus induce me to dedicate myself to the mission work are far more pure and genuine than those that induce one to choose the home ministry."²

Nevius makes a similar testimony.

"I am sure that my motives are not mercenary or selfish for I should have preferred the most humble place at home; nor ambitious, for I do feel that I am so poorly prepared for the work before me that, among such men as we have in the foreign field, I shall fall far short of ever being 'distinguished'. I do not think either that the credit of the world had anything to do with forming my decision."³

1. Burns' Diary, Ibid., p. 193.

2. R. Wardlaw Thompson, Griffith John, London, 1906, pp. 20-21.

3. Letter to Helen S. Coan, quoted in Helen S. Coan Nevius, Life of John Livingston Nevius, N.Y., ca.1895, pp. 108-109.

To sum up the theology of the period, in the main it still regarded Christianity as the only true religion and the heathen as lost; men were called directly of God through the Bible to preach the only salvation to the heathen, that through the atonement of Christ. Gratitude to God and love for Christ added to the strength of the incentive. A small element did recognize in the Chinese a knowledge of the true God and sought to reveal Him more fully, rather than completely to overthrow the native religions. This is a new development in motive. As a whole, however, except for this slight change, the motive was the same as that of the first period.

III. Motive Emerging from Relations Between China and the West.

In addition to the theological motive noted we find an increasing feeling that the contact of China with the West was in many ways harmful and that the missionary was needed to counteract this by a moral and spiritual contribution. George Smith of the Episcopal Board felt that the evils of our past intercourse made our missionary obligations greater. He wrote in 1847,

"The moral evils of our past intercourse lend an additional power to the voice of China, crying to British Christians, by the depth of her moral degradation, though not by her consciousness of it, 'Come over and help us'."¹

Lowrie also indicated the evil influence of the foreigner when in a letter to John Lloyd in 1842 he wrote,

"Those at Amoy and Chusan, where the people have not been as yet corrupted by the evil influence and example of foreigners, represent them (the Chinese) as uncommonly interesting people, easy of access and free in their manners."²

It is to the credit of these missionaries that they recognized such evil effects of international intercourse and tried to counterbalance them with some positive contribution.

IV. Methods.

The general method of this era was the further development of those types of work inaugurated in earlier years, evangelistic, literary and educational, and medical. The evangelistic continued to be primary and the social methods subordinate, though we find a clearer tendency to justify the social on the basis of

1. George Smith, A Narrative of an Exploratory Visit to China, etc., N.Y., 1847, p. 464.

2. Walter Lowrie, Memoirs of the Rev. Walter M. Lowrie, Philadelphia, 1854, p. 103.

its own intrinsic value.

First let us discuss more fully the purely evangelistic. That it was still considered the primary object of the missionary is shown by Bishop George Smith who wrote in 1847,

"Let it ever be borne in mind, that, amid the subsidiary aids, it is primarily and essentially by the message of reconciliation, proclaimed by messengers who desire to know nothing but Jesus and him crucified, that we can hope to overcome the difficulties of the missionary work, to effect the real conversion of sinners to Christ, and to prepare the way of the Lord in China."¹

Burns' choice of evangelistic work is interesting because of its extreme distinction between methods.

"He wished to go forth as an evangelist, not to administer sacraments; 'Christ sent me not to baptize but to preach the gospel.'"²

Burns' also tells us of his decision in favor of the evangelistic as opposed to the educational approach. After having been in a school for some time he decided to begin evangelistic work. He says,

"This latter course (going forth into the field at large in order at once to spread abroad the gospel of salvation among the unsaved millions) I felt it my duty to adopt although it is one accompanied with many difficulties

1. George Smith, Narrative of an Exploratory Visit to China, etc., N.Y. 1847, p. 465.

2. Burns' comment on his ordination, quoted in Rev. Islay Burns, Memoir of the Rev. Wm. C. Burns, London, 1885, p. 198.

and dangers of different kinds... Certainly my past habits and experience fit me above most preachers for attempting this mode of missionary work; but whether, and how far, I may be successful it is with the Lord, at whose command I go forth."¹

It is true that for many evangelistic work came to include more than preaching to individuals.

"Success in the achievement of this purpose speedily led to the organization of churches, and to the effort to develop the life of the Christian community. Thus to personal evangelism was added in elementary form... what may be termed social evangelization, the application of Christianity to the life of a social group."²

Cleland Boyd McAfee in his Changing Missions hails this group as similar to the "reconstruction group, who think of the Gospel as providing conditions under which life may be worthily lived".³ Whether any of the missionaries to China went quite so far in the literal interpretation of the scriptures as to believe this we can not be sure but it is fairly certain that they considered the principles and teachings of Christ as the guide to man's living and salvation. We are also fairly safe in saying that during this period the development of the community church did bring a more

1. Rev. Islay Burns, Memoir of the Rev. Wm. C. Burns, London, 1885, p. 230, Letter to his mother Jan. 29, 1849.

2. Christian Education in China, Commission report, N.Y., 1922, pp. 33-34.

3. Op. cit., N.Y., 1927, pp. 260-261.

noticeable emphasis on reconstruction of conditions in this world, whereas in the earlier period the emphasis was more largely on rescue and salvation in a future world. Thus evangelism came to include more than merely telling the good news, but also,

"The establishment of a Kingdom of righteousness in individual lives and in society at large,.....the whole process by which the Christian message is proclaimed and used to influence human lives."¹

We do not claim such an inclusive definition for evangelism of this period, as may be judged by Burns' conception that evangelism did not even include baptizing and administering sacraments; but more social and community work was being opened. The continued predominance of evangelism is shown by the fact that two thirds of the Protestant workers in May, 1846, or 26 out of 40, were in purely evangelistic work and of the remaining 14, 8 were in educational and literary work which was immediately subsidiary to the evangelistic. This left 6 in purely social work, all of these being in the field of medicine.²

1. Cornelius H. Patton, The Business of Missions, N.Y., 1924, p. 52.

2. Statistics from George Smith's, Narrative of an Exploratory Visit to each of the Consular Cities of China, and to the Islands of Hong Kong and Chusan, in behalf of the Church Missionary Society, in the years 1844-1846, N.Y., 1847, pp. 446-449, Figures do not include missionaries' wives.

In addition to purely evangelistic work there was a continued emphasis on the literary side. The motive on which it thrived is expressed by Legge who viewed it as one of the best ways of reaching the Chinese mind. He emphasized the need of

1. Respect for ancient customs.
2. Understanding and reckoning with old engrained ideas.
3. Colportage as a means of leading seekers to the missionaries.¹

He believed that in this way the missionaries should struggle to break down circunvallations of language, ignorance and prejudice which made the approach to the Chinese mind so hard. He aided in this task through the translation of the Chinese classics into English, the first volume of which was published in 1861.²

Printing presses were set up and made a regular part of the missionary equipment. In 1844 Walter Lowrie announced the arrival of a press for the Presbyterian Mission and the beginning of the use of metal type.³

1. Helen Edith Legge, James Legge, London, 1905, p. 87.

2. Ibid., p. 32. Some of these are still standard.

3. Walter Lowrie, Memoirs of the Rev. Walter M. Lowrie, Philadelphia, 1884, p. 222.

In the field of translation we have already mentioned the cooperation in the translation of the Bible, around which the dispute over the Chinese term for "God" arose. Other works were translated, among them being Pilgrim's Progress, translated by Burns,¹ and a number of science books.

Men also attempted to interpret China to the West. Notable in this field was S. Wells Williams, who during this period (1848) published a two volume work on The Middle Kingdom, which remains standard to the present day.

The motive revealed in this literary work is an increasing recognition of value in Chinese thought and life, argued by Legge in his contention for the use of Shang-Ti and pointed out by the increased interest in study of old Chinese Classics, etc. That these in many respects proved difficult for even the best scholars is indicated by James Legge,

"I am groping amid mists of Chinese physics and metaphysics, a shape like the ghost of Aristotle or Plato rising up over and anon before me. I go to grasp it - and a Chinese folio interposes its knotty pages."²

1. Rev. Islay Burns, Memoir of the Rev. Wm. C. Burns. London, 1885, p. 337.

2. Letters and notes of Dr. Legge in Hong Kong, 1849, and later, quoted in Helen Edith Legge, James Legge. London, 1905, p. 75.

We need barely mention the educational and medical work which was growing. Educational work was still regarded as an aid to the gospel. Legge wrote to his brother, John from Malacca in 1842,

"I purposely devote myself a great deal to teaching because it seems to me that that is a higher walk than at present will be the chief business of my life among the Chinese. This institution (Anglo-Chinese College) will probably remain my care....established in Hong Kong in adaptation to the present circumstances of China by long residents there. It will be my task more to train in theological and Biblical science - to make them under God scribes well instructed for the Kingdom of heaven."¹

George Smith also indicated that the Educational method was still regarded as a means of getting converts.

"Let it ever be borne in mind, that amid the subsidiary aids of scholastic establishments, it is primarily - by the message of reconciliation, ...that we can hope...to prepare the way of the Lord in China."²

Let us conclude this discussion of methods with the recollection of the fact that medical missions were steadily increasing. The value of the hospital was still regarded to be its ability to subdue the arrogance

1. Letters and notes of Dr. Legge in Hong Kong, 1849, later, quoted in Helen Edith Legge, James Legge, London, 1906, p. 17.

2. George Smith, Narrative of an Exploratory Visit to China, etc., N.Y., 1847, p. 463.

3. Ibid, p. 22.

and prejudice of the Chinese mind and thus make the incursion of the Gospel easier. George Smith put it,

"It is here (in the hospital) that the proud arrogance of native prejudice is subdued, under the power and beauty of the disinterested benevolence which springs from a heaven-born faith. To use the words of a native Christian, Leang Afa, 'When I speak to my countrymen in the villages and suburbs about Jesus Christ, and his glorious Gospel, they are careless, and utter expressions of scorn; but in the hospital their hearts are soft, and they will listen to the gospel with serious attention'. The advantages of such an institution are obvious to all. Our respected friend who presides over it has had the privilege of exhibiting to nearly 20,000 patients the benevolence of the Christian religions."¹

Summary

In this period between the first treaties opening China and the war of 1856, we find First, conditions making China very inviting to the missionary. These were the opening of a part of China by treaty, the betterment of facilities with which the missionary had to work, and the realization of the first fruits of the early missionaries. All of these caused a period of rapid growth and stimulated missionary effort to its highest. Second, the theology of the time was generally the same as that of the earlier period. The missionaries believed the Chinese eternally lost unless they

1. George Smith, Narrative of an Exploratory Visit to China, etc., N.Y., 1847, p. 22.

accepted Christ; but a few recognized in the Chinese conception something similar to the Christian God, hence the development in motive on the part of these from one of total replacement of native ideas to one of further unfoldment, helping the Chinese to realize more fully their own religion. Third, missionaries recognized more than ever the need to counteract the evil influences of the contact of China with the West, now that this contact was more wide spread. Fourth, the methods used attest the prime motive of evangelizing the heathen, though this method was coming to include building the Christian community and permeating all of life's relationships with the Gospel through any method. It was evolving into a method of constructing the present world as well as rescuing souls for a future existence. None can safely claim that any of these motives were selfish. In fact their high development is beyond what one would expect for such an early period.

Chapter III

1856 - 1895

PENETRATION

Since 1844, missions had labored under difficulties because of the restriction of work to the five treaty ports and the prohibition of interior travel. In addition, the attitude of the Emperor and people was such that there was no sure toleration for Christianity. This condition, in spite of its advantages over the earlier period, could not be expected to be viewed contentedly by missionaries. However, a number of conditions entered the Chinese situation during the latter half of the century which opened China completely and offered greater opportunity to the missionary.

1. Conditions.

Western nations could not be expected to be satisfied with trade in a few treaty ports, and that under conditions very irritating for both sides. The result was that in 1858-1860 new treaties were made. It was these treaties which opened China to missionary residence and the ownership of property.¹ To this

1. K. S. Latourette, Development of China, Boston, 1924, pp. 161 ff.

extent missionaries were really a part of Western expansion. They got in by force.

The real cause of the war from which the treaties resulted was the unsatisfactory condition of China's relation with the West, but the immediate cause was opium. War broke out in 1856 with Great Britain, as the result of the Chinese disregard¹ for the British flag on a small vessel, the lorcha "Arrow", engaged in this infamous traffic.² The British went North to Tientsin and took the Forts of Taku below the city. Treaties were negotiated with England, France and the United States, that with the last power being ratified in 1860. The result for missionaries was significant. The treaties of 1858 gave them freedom of movement, by providing freedom from molestation.³ Before, they had been restricted to the treaty ports and their immediate vicinity. But from this time forth those professing

1. E.T. Williams called it "disrespect" for the British flag.

2. E.S. Latourette, Development of China, Boston, 1924, p. 149.

3. Br. tr. art. viii; Am. tr. art. xxix; Fr. tr., art. xiii, quoted in Hosea Ballou Morse, International Relations of the Chinese Empire, Vol. I, London, 1910, p. 565.

4. E.S. Latourette, Class notes in History of the Christian Church in China.

5. Ibid., p. 565.

and teaching Christianity were not to be harassed or persecuted on account of their faith.¹ In addition, to these an effective protection for missionaries going peacefully into the interior provided with passports was stipulated. Another provision in 1860 gave Catholic missionaries the right to hold property in the interior.² Protestant missionaries bought land under the Chinese law and were then protected by foreign governments.³ This was one of the causes of much hard feeling between the Chinese and the missionaries, as we shall show later on.

The results of these treaties for missions were tremendous.

"Missions of all Christian denominations and all nations found open to them for mission work the immense field of the Empire of China, from Kansu in the West to Kiangsu in the East, and from Manchuria in the North to Kwangtung in the South."⁴

Permission to cover all China, privileges of interior residence and ownership of property, and protection of Christians by foreign powers were the new conditions of mission work springing from these treaties. The

1. Hoses Ballou Morse, International Relations of the Chinese Empire, Vol. I, London, 1910, p. 566.

2. Fr. Convent, Peking, 1860, art. vi. Quoted Ibid., p. 566

3. E.S. Latourette, Class notes in History of the Christian Church in China.

4. Ibid., p. 566.

last condition, protection of Christians, brought with it some corruption and induced many non-Christians to join the church. This withdrawal of many Chinese from under the jurisdiction of their own law was another cause of hard feeling against missions.

In agreeing with this policy of coercion and withdrawal of certain Chinese privileges through treaty, the missionary showed something of his attitude toward the Chinese. Alexander Williamson, one of the prominent Presbyterian missionaries of this period, said in 1870,

"On the general question I make no remark further than that the history of the Chinese demonstrates that it is not only impolitic, but dangerous, to grant them all the privileges of civilised nations."¹

He continues,

"As far as we can see, there is no hope for China in China herself. We have, at different times and on different connections, inquired separately of the ablest Europeans and Americans in Peking, men who had the best opportunities of knowing the true state of matters, whether they had ever met a man in official circles who understood the times, and was likely to put forth some intelligent effort to raise his country, and the reply has invariably been in the negative...The nation, therefore, must become more and more corrupt, unless some external element be introduced to save it."²

1. Rev. Alexander Williamson, Journeys in North China. London, vol. 1, 1870, Introd. p. ix.

2. Ibid., pp. 7-8

The missionaries were not blind to the new opportunity before them. W.A.P. Martin, who came out in 1862 under the American Presbyterian Board, later wrote,

".....In 1844,.....the ban of prohibition (of missions) was removed...For the "Arrow" war it was reserved to open the next stage, amounting to a complete immunity from all disabilities under guarantee of treaty stipulation. This was required by the current of missionary effort, which had set strongly in the direction of China; and the men charged with the negotiations of 1858 were either in sympathy with the cause of missions, or of mental breadth to perceive that no settlement could be satisfactory that would leave them to the caprice of emperors or mandarins. It was a sublime spectacle - the great powers of the earth sinking their differences of creed, and joining their shields to protect the church of Christ....The Chinese (treaty) contains a clause securing to Roman Catholic missionaries the right of buying land and building houses in the interior.... Nor have the Chinese shown any disposition to withhold from Protestants what they conceded to Catholics. Missionaries of both confessions are allowed to erect permanent establishments wherever local opposition does not prevent their doing so."¹

Archdeacon Arthur E. Moule, one of the best known missionaries of the Church Missionary Society, expressed this view during the latter part of the period:

"The gates are open. The course is free. The Church, with her treasure, the Word of God, can run through China, and well nigh through the world now."²

1. W.A.P. Martin, A Cycle of Cathay, N.Y., 1896, pp. 440-442.

2. A.E. Moule, The Glorious Land, London, 1891, p. 98.

Edkins of the London Mission Society in 1859 cited this opening among the circumstances favorable to Christianity.

".....Certainly, the great political and social changes recently begun are in favour of Christianity. It is now a tolerated religion. Foreigners may teach it, while natives may profess it."¹

He says further,

"No richer field for examination is presented to inquiring men at the present time than China. The barriers of that exclusiveness that has so long hindered the investigations of travellers, and checked the progress of Christian missions and of lawful commerce, are not broken down...The law against the entrance of foreigners and freedom of trade has proved - useless; and China is now, for the first time, open throughout for Europeans."²

Hudson Taylor, who emphasized the extensive evangelization of the Empire as much as any one man of this period, included the treaty right of access to all China as one of the "providential facilities" for mission work.

"..... We should notice that we have now by treaty the right of access to every part of the Empire; and that, in point of fact, there are very few places in the eighteen provinces, or in the Northern Dependencies to which access is denied us."³

1. Joseph Edkins, The Religious Condition of the Chinese, London, 1859, p. 257.

2. Ibid., pp. 1-2

3. J. Hudson Taylor, China's Spiritual Needs and Claims London, 1884, p. 45.

The result of this new condition was the motivation of many new Protestant missionaries to come out to China, 2197 were listed in the report of the conference of 1890.¹ These represented 41 societies and included practically all the major bodies working in China at the present time. These were received in practically every province, the records showing missionaries resident in 16 provinces in 1884.²

To say that they had the right to enter all China and reside there does not mean that missionaries had access to the hearts of the people. The hearts of a people could not be opened by force. In fact, the condition within China at this time consisted largely of attitudes brought on by war and toward war. Ernst Faber, the well known missionary of the General Evangelical Missionary Society, said,

"The wars of the English and French have produced a considerable change, but they could not open the hearts of the Chinese to the Gospel."³

Thus we find the first condition of this period was the political opening of the entire of China to missions.

1. Records of the Missionary Conference held at Shanghai, 1890, Shanghai, 1890, p. 732.

2. J. Hudson Taylor, China's Spiritual Needs and Claims, London, 1884, pp. 40-41.

3. Ernst Faber, Problems of Practical Christianity in China, Shanghai, 1897, p. 39.

with a partial reaction of the Chinese mind against the methods of force, which made it hard for the missionary during the next fifty years.

Another condition of the period was the arousal of new missionary interest at home. This is shown in the organization of a number of bodies for cooperation in religious work, these obtaining their strongest impetus from missions. Some of the main ones have been the Young Men's Christian Association, organized in 1844; the Young Women's Christian Association, organized in England in 1855; the Young Peoples Christian Endeavor, formed in 1881; the Baptist Young Peoples' Union, the Epworth League, and the Student Volunteer Movement, established in 1886.¹ The latter especially exerted a strong influence for missions.

The decisions of younger people to enter foreign service received their impetus in part from the efforts of former missionaries. Virgil C. Hart, a Methodist, furnishes us an example of results of such past effort. It is said that reading the story of David Livingston led him to think seriously of a missionary career.²

1. Williston Walker, A History of the Christian Church, N.Y. 1927, p. 588.

2. E.I. Hart, Virgil C. Hart, N.Y., 1917, p. 15.

Timothy Richard, well-known exponent of work among the higher classes, likewise attributed his interest to the attempts of other missionaries.

"In 1868 I heard Mrs. Grattan Guinness plead the cause of the China Inland Mission field. The heroic and self-sacrificing programme of the China Inland Mission appealed to me and towards the end of my college career in Haverfordwest I offered myself to join them."¹

James Addison Ingle, first Bishop of The District of Hankow under the American Episcopalians (arrived 1891), had his interest aroused in a similar manner.

"I had dismissed China from my thoughts, when we had a visit from Rev. Mr. Thomson of Shanghai, who made us a simple address on China, and told us that he was going back alone to a field where he had worked (partly with Mr. Pott, I believe) for thirty years, during which time not one ordained missionary had come to his help. He told us the danger of the work's death when he and his companion die, and urged us to send some one to help him, as he is growing old and feeble. His address touched us all, and the thought that the work that our noble Bishop Boone started, which had been faithfully upheld by this old man, was in danger of failing through lack of workers, decided me to ask to be sent to his help...The claim of the work itself, and the claim of the work as the work of men from our seminary, determined me. Thus I feel called to this special work, and if the church will send me I will go."²

1. Timothy Richard, Forty-five Years in China. N.Y., 1916, p. 29.

2. Letter to his Board, Nov. 24, 1890. Quoted in W.H. Jeffreys, James Addison Ingle, N.Y., 1913, p. 31.

David Hill, one of the most prominent workers under the Wesleyan Methodists at this time, bears further testimony to the missionary interest at home during the period. He wrote in a letter in 1863,

"On Sunday Evening after taking supper at Mrs. Hall's, she very strongly urged the claims of China, and wished me very earnestly to go."¹

Richard Lovett in writing of this period said,

"There has been deepening in those circles already interested in missions a sense of dependence on God, a spirit of fervent prayer, a strong desire more adequately to grapple with the sorrows and needs of heathendom, and a keener relish for all good missionary literature."²

These are sufficient indications, direct and indirect, that there was a high ebb in missionary interest in the West at this time. The large increase in workers shown already bears out the conclusion.

Still another condition of the times was the rapidly increasing wealth in the West, resulting from the industrial revolution. In England and America especially, the two nations which figured largest in Protestant missions to China, the factory system produced many wealthy men and gave the churches means for a greater missionary enterprise.³

1. Rev. W.T.A. Barber, David Hill, London, 1898, p. 31.

2. Richard Lovett, History of the London Missionary Society, Vol. II, London, 1899, p. 727.

3. E.S. Latourette, Class notes, History of the Christian Church in China.

A fourth condition of the period was the Tai Ping Rebellion, or rather a condition expressed in this rebellion. This great devastating movement arose partly out of the weakened condition of the Manchus,¹ and partly out of the political ambitions of Chu Kiu-tao, who tried to set up a new dynasty. The movement took its sanction partly from Christian ideas through the influence of Isaacchar Roberts, an American missionary, and the rebels regarded themselves as religious crusaders fighting for Christian principles. How far the movement was actually Christian may be judged by a statement of Sir. G. Bonham, who investigated the Rebellion, that after conference with the Minister of the Tai Pings, and examination of their books, he had concluded that the rebels were "much inclined to dilate upon their creed", that, in theory, their tenets were based on ethical rules of Christianity, but were so overlaid with anthropomorphism as to be quite transformed; that a nucleus of the soldiery appeared to hold

1. W.E. Soothill, China and the West, London, 1925, p.138.

2.

1. Papers read at the 1st. Conf. in China, 1905, p. 11, of 1905, quoted in International Relations of the Chinese Empire, 1910, p. 304, vol. 1.

2. A.E. Hume, The Christian Era, London, 1897, pp. 24-25.

3. Ibid., p. 38.

the tenets in their entirety, but not the great mass of the troops.¹ Archdeacon Moule wrote later, in recalling the event, that the Tai Pings were to be praised for desiring the friendship of the foreigner, and the annihilation of the opium trade. He wrote further,

"In its earliest stage this remarkable movement was, as far as religion is concerned, Protestant in Christian doctrine, worshipping one God, waging war against image worship, and observing Sunday; and opium smoking and spirit drinking were ranged under infractions of the Seventh Commandment.... When the earthquake of the Rebellion was over conspicuous among the ruins were to be seen, as I saw with my own eyes, 'the idols utterly abolished' by Chinese hands. The temples were burnt and thrown down.... No tongue was raised any more in defence of idolatry and in praise of idols; and it was admitted with a sad smile of perplexity and despair that gods which could not keep their own heads on their shoulders could not well be expected to preserve their worshippers from murder and rapine... With their old beliefs thus shattered and disgraced, they were ready to listen to the missionary's voice telling of a better hope, and of an Almighty Saviour and Deliverer."²

Moule says further with regard to the effects of the movement;

"The Taipings advanced in triumph, massacred ruthlessly the people who made the slightest show of resistance, or who refused to abandon the tail and the tonsure."³

1. Papers resp. civil war in China, pres. H. of Lords, 1853, quoted in H.B. Morse, International Relations of the Chinese Empire, N.Y., 1910, p. 454. Vol. I.

2. A.E. Moule, The Glorious Land, London, 1891, pp. 24-26.

3. Ibid., p. 28.

Also,

"It is possible that this narrative may throw much light upon the ill-disguised opposition to Christianity, manifested so often by Chinese officials and by the literary class generally.....In the year 1858, San-Ko-lin-sin, the Imperialist Cavalry leader,..... memorialised the throne against Christianity, and stigmatised it as revolutionary and in league with the rebels."¹

And in conclusion he points out that,

"Not by might, nor by power, but by the Spirit of the Lord alone is His Kingdom set up on earth. But it is the great duty of the Church of Christ to be ever on guard and on the watch to enter in and possess in her master's name lands thrown open for the Gospel by the conflicts and revolutions."²

Joseph Edkins gives us his opinion on the rebellion immediately after its cessation. He leaves the impression that in many ways it was encouraging.

"It shows that there is a susceptibility in the Chinese mind to receive Christian doctrine, for which we were before far from giving them credit. They are, as a nation, usually represented as having only sordid aims in life, and as almost incapable of feeling reverence for God, or curiosity respecting the future state.... They have shown themselves capable (by this insurrection), to a degree unexpected by the rest of mankind, of a religious enthusiasm, ardent enough to increase their bravery as fighting men, and make them capable of submitting to

1. A.R.Moule, The Glorious Land, London, 1891, pp. 28-29

2. Ibid., p. 30

a self-denying discipline, such as cannot be very agreeable to a people trained in national habits like those of the ordinary Chinese There is hope, then, that they may take up the religion of the Bible with strong faith and propagate it by their own exertions."¹

He says further,

"That the Chinese are capable of warmer religious feelings than was thought possible, has been proved. There is, then, encouragement to be derived by those who are interested in missionary labours in China.

"There need be no fear for the ultimate success of Protestant missions there, when we have had so recent an example of the effect of the distribution of books. The first agents of Protestant societies who went to China to teach Christianity met with very little apparent fruit of their labours. Few converts joined them. Much opposition was excited against them. They sowed the seed of truth in a hard soil, in the time of wintry winds and unkindly influences. Now, however, it has been shown that effects have followed which they had not anticipated. Not only have their books been widely circulated by the machinery they themselves organised, but for several years past, a native Chinese party, in the midst of anarchy and internecine war, have been diffusing Christian truths in an extensive series of publications, which they have widely scattered through the country After making all the necessary deductions for imperfect instruction, and the mingling of Christianity with political designs, etc., there still remains good reason to hope that not a few of the Kwangse insurgents may deservedly be called Christians."²

1. Joseph Edkins, The Religious Condition of the Chinese, London, 1859, p. 277

2. Ibid., pp. 283-284.

On the other hand Edkins recognized and pointed out the weakness and misrepresentation brought by the Tai Pings;

"We could have excused their iconoclastic tendencies, if they had not also undertaken to accomplish a political revolution. By this course they have done harm to the cause of Christianity in China, and have given its enemies an opportunity to misrepresent it."¹

Edkins held that the lesson Protestants must learn from this is that of providing a sufficient ministry to properly instruct the people. Otherwise,

"They might fall into error, as did the Kwang-se Christians, who began so well and so zealously with reading the Scriptures and prayer-meetings. It was in an evil hour that they decided to take up arms. There was no one to tell them that our religion is peaceful, and that the weapons of our warfare are not carnal. The zeal of these men, which, untempered by an enlightened prudence, led them to the brink of destruction, would have wrought wonders for the spread of Christianity if rightly directed. Among the lessons we may learn by their history is this, that in prosecuting the task of evangelizing China, there needs to be careful instruction added to the possession of the Word of God. The Bible needs an expositor, and zeal needs a wise regulating prudence."²

It was in these that the Tai Ping Rebellion increased the incentive to emphasize the China mission

1. Joseph Edkins, The Religious Condition of the Chinese, London, 1859, p. 382.

2. Ibid., pp. 285-286.

at this time, the revelation of the capability of the Chinese to become zealous followers of Christianity, the need for enough workers to train correctly the thousands who were coming into contact with Christianity, so as to prevent further mistakes, and the need for enough real Christians to battle the stigma placed upon the name Christian by this pseudo-Christian revolt.

A fifth condition of the times was the continued increase of understanding of Chinese civilisation and religion in the West. The admiration for the race was carried by some to the extent of calling them the most civilized of non-Christian nations. Timothy Richard related that

"On being asked by the committee why I wished to go to North China, I replied that as the Chinese were the most civilized of non-Christian nations, they would, when converted, carry the gospel to less advanced nations, and that by working in the North temperate zone Europeans could stand the climate, while the natives of North China, after becoming Christians, could convert their fellow-countrymen all over the Empire."¹

Williamson, in addressing the Convention of Protestant Missionaries at Shanghai in 1877, expressed profound respect for the intellectuality of the Chinese.

"I need not dilate to you upon the capacities of the Chinese - their patience, perseverance, ingenuity, power of observation, application,

1. Timothy Richard, Forty-five Years in China. N.Y., 1916, p. 29.

and endurance; nor need I tell you, that not a few of them have mastered every new art and science we have set before them. You all know that intellectually they are fit for anything. Here again, the magnitude of the work comes out in all its arduous proportions. In all important aspects they are quite equal to ourselves; they have proved themselves so - in diplomacy, mercantile enterprise, and in many other ways. But here too we have an element of hope. The nation with which we have to deal is not a dull, unappreciative people, but a keen, inquisitive race, ready to examine everything we place before them, adapted to receive our highest education, and able to utilize it. They are not so terribly wed-locked to the past as they have been often represented to be."¹

A new theology was closely related to this more sympathetic understanding of the Chinese. However, this will be dealt with under theological beliefs of the period.

Famine was another condition which affected missionary motives. Aid in relief of this situation was often an appeal of the missionary for more helpers and money. The London Times, early in 1878, wrote as follows:

"It is stated on authority which cannot be questioned that seventy millions² of human beings are now starving in the famine-stricken

1. A. Williamson, Essay on "The Field and Its Magnitude", Records of the Missionary Conference at Shanghai 1877, Shanghai, 1898, pp. 57-58

2. The figures here are doubtful. Ernst Faber, in, his Chronological Handbook of the History of China, Shanghai, 1902, p. 242, states that in 1878 famine in Shansi and Shensi cost the lives of at least eight million people.

provinces of North China. The imagination fails to cope with a calamity so gigantic. The inhabitants of the United Kingdom and the United States combined hardly number seventy millions. To think of the teeming populations of these lands, all crowded into an area very little greater than that of France, starving and eating earth, with no food to be had, and with no hope of succour, is enough to freeze the mind with horror."¹

This condition was only one which, to the mind of some, caused the Chinese to begin to lose faith in their own gods. Hudson Taylor wrote in an appeal,

"We must not overlook the effect of the recent rebellions, famines, etc. in shaking the confidence of many of the people in their gods of wood and stone, and in preparing them to feel their need of something better, on which they may really rest.... The rough plough of war, famine, and pestilence, was breaking up the soil and opening it; and many a homestead, many a nest, did it tear to pieces in its onward progress.... And now shall we be idle.... Missionaries tell us of such willingness to hear the gospel as never was found before. There are, indeed, opened hearts just needing the Balm of Gilead and the Good Physician."²

Edkins had indicated much earlier that the native religions seemed to be giving way slightly. In 1859 he wrote, immediately after the Tai Ping rebellion,

1. Quoted in J. E. Hellier, Life of David Hill. London, p. 110.

2. J. Hudson Taylor, China's Spiritual Need and Claims. London, 1884, p. 45.

"The two idolatrous religions prevalent in the country are sufficiently worn out and weak to render the victory of Christianity not very difficult. If the followers of Confucius are not self-sufficient and proud, their want of faith in Buddhism, and the circumstance that their own religion fails to satisfy the spiritual wants of man, favour the hope that they will accept Christianity."¹

China's feet were being swept out from under her.

Continued defeat in war, famine, rebellion, persecutions and other manifestations of these turbulent fifty years were convincing her that she must look to something new for salvation.

This describes in some detail the conditions under which Protestant missionaries came and worked during these years. The new treaties, edicts of toleration, missionary interest at home, new wealth in the West, the Tai Ping rebellion, the increased understanding of China, famine opening China to missions, and indications that many were ready to accept a new faith, brought a sense of the need of China for a more satisfactory religion and made missionary work attractive in many ways, though the feeling against the foreigner electrified the air and still made missionary work hazardous and difficult. By these conditions the motives of the missionaries of this period were modified and revealed.

1. Joseph Edkins, The Religious Condition of the Chinese, London, 1859, pp. 287-288.

II. Theology.

The theology of the missionaries became more varied. We find the gap between conservatism and liberalism increasing, though the extreme would not be reached until later. Needless to say this change vitally affected the motive of those holding the new views.

First let us take the matter of attitude toward other religions. We notice that the majority of the workers still considered them blind alleys, or false. Among the numerous examples was Mr. Chapin who wrote in 1883, after his arrival in China:

"Viewed from a human standpoint exclusively, it seems a hopeless task;...This is Satan's stronghold, and those who assail it are but a handful of noble men....It seems almost an endless work simply to communicate the knowledge of gospel truth upon their consciences, and the training of native converts, by line upon line and precept upon precept.

"My most discouraging views...have been produced by the gradual insight I have gained into the character of the people. Heathenism has done its work most effectually. I have had new views of the evil and detestable nature of sin, as I have seen how it can corrupt and degrade the heart and crush out every noble principle and affection. Yet the difference between this and a Christian land seems to be, not so much that worse individual cases can be found here than there, as that the whole mass seems to be corrupted."¹

1. The Panoplist and 'Missionary Herald', Vol. LX, 1864, pp. 16-17. Mr. Chapin was in the North China Mission.

George L. Mackay, missionary to Formosa in 1871 under the Presbyterian Church of Canada, comments on the killing effects of the religion he found there.

"The heathenism of Formosa is of the same kind and quality as the heathenism of China. It is the same poisonous mixture, the same dark, damning nightmare. The original element was Confucianism - a system of morality, with its worship of heaven, its deification of ancestors, and its ethical maxims. Centuries after, Taoism was added....demonolatry....spirit-superstition and wretched incantations. Then from India Buddhism was brought....idolatryshrines and smoking incense.... Now the three are run together, a commingling of conflicting creeds, degrading the intellect, defiling the life, and destroying all religious sentiment....For twenty three years I have been in the midst of heathenism,...and I know the poison of its sweets, the fatal flash of its light, and the stagnant fetor of its life."¹

Hudson Taylor affords us further insight into the attitude toward the condition of the heathen. While at Brighton on Sunday, June 25, 1865, he says,

"Perishing China so filled my heart that there was no rest by day and little sleep by night. -- unable to bear the sight of a congregation of a thousand or more Christian people rejoicing in their own security, while millions were perishing for lack of knowledge, I wandered out on the sand alone, in spiritual agony."²

1. George L. Mackay, From Far Formosa, N.Y., 1896, pp. 125-126.

2. Marshall Broomhall, Jubilee Story of the China Inland Mission, Philadelphia, 1915, p. 25.

In 1884 he confirmed this view even more when he appealed for more missionaries on this basis.

"Would you stand by and let a man drown? Yet of how much sorer punishment is he worthy who leaves the soul to perish, and Cain-like says, 'Am I my brother's keeper?'"¹

Many men were so certain that those who knew not the name of Christ were lost that they could estimate the number of the condemned. Hudson Taylor affords an extremely good example. He said,

"Passing at the rate of thirty miles a day two days and a half would permit all the attendants of Christian Worship in China to pass by, while seventeen years would be required by the heathen. Mournful and impressive fact - such is the proportion of those who are journeying heavenward to those whose dark and Christless lives, if not speedily enlightened, must end in dark and Christless deaths, and - after that the judgment! Two hundred and fifty millions! An army whose numbers no finite mind can fully grasp... Among so vast a population the number of deaths continually occurring is necessarily very great; at a very moderate computation it cannot be under 22,800 per diem, or nearly 1,000 per hourCan the Christians of England sit still with folded arms while these multitudes are perishing - perishing for lack of knowledge?"²

We have opportunity to get the consensus of opinion of Protestant missionaries in China as a body, for in 1877 they gathered in conference, and again in 1890.

1. J. Hudson Taylor, China's Spiritual Need and Claims. London, 1884, p. 37.

2. Ibid., pp. 11-12.

at Shanghai. In the records of the first of these meetings the report of the Commission on "Appeal to the Churches at Home", as adopted by the entire conference, contained this statement:

"There is no hope for China in itself - millions pass into eternity every year. What an agonising thought! Souls of men, endowed with the most glorious facilities, perishing for lack of that knowledge which has been entrusted to us for diffusion! Souls which might be emancipated from sin, transferred into the Kingdom of God, and thus established in a career of ever-widening intelligence, and ever deepening joy, to shine as the brightness of the firmament, and as the stars for ever and ever."¹

The Rev. E. Nelson, a missionary of the American Protestant Episcopal Mission, delivered an Essay to the Conference in which he implied that the heathen were damned unless they accepted Christ.

"Missionary success is the most thorough - setting forth to the Heathen of the Gospel of Christ - who is therein revealed as the atonement, from sin, their Savior from eternal death, their complete redemption and eternal life."²

Mr. Edkins in presenting an essay to the Convention on the native religions pointed out their connection with Satan:

1. Records of the Missionary Conference held at Shanghai 1877, Shanghai, 1878, p. 477.

2. Ibid., p. 52 .

"Among the prominent and most pernicious evils for which popular Buddhism of the present day is responsible is idolatry. Buddhism has placed the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas in the reverence and position before the people that ought to be held only by the Creator and Father of the World. Idolatry puts in fiction instead of truth, and as we every day see in China renders the mind indifferent to truth.

"Our great contest as missionaries is with Confucianism...Buddhism...Taoism..., these constitute three mighty fortresses erected by Satanic art to impede the progress of Christianity."¹

A single statement of the conference of 1890, taken from an appeal made by the entire body to the home churches for ordained missionaries, and signed by J. L. Nevius and David Hill, the two Conference presidents, indicates that the condition of the heathen was not changed in the conception of the majority of missionaries.

"Seeing as we do the utter destitution and helplessness of these millions still having no hope and without God in the world, we appeal to young men to give themselves to this work."²

Connected directly with this feeling of most missionaries that the native religions were false was the view that the Christian Gospel alone could save the heathen from the eternal punishment for which they

1. Records of the Missionary Conference held at Shanghai, 1877, Shanghai, 1878, p. 71.

2. Records of the Missionary Conference held at Shanghai, May 7-20, 1890, Shanghai, 1890, reports of committees, p. XIII.

seemed doomed. George Mackay, whom we have had occasion to quote before, testified that

"The gospel of the risen Saviour, shedding light on the immortal life, and redeeming men from the heavy bondage of ignorance, superstition, and fear, is proving itself the only power that can save to the uttermost. It drives out the false by the explosive power of truth, and under its vivifying influences the devotees of the tablet turn from the darkening past and look forward and upward to the hills of the Homeland, where the weary rest in the light of God."¹

Griffith John in addressing the Convention of 1877 said,

"The Gospel alone is the power of God unto salvation; and salvation from the guilt and dominion of sin - from moral and spiritual misery - is the great need of the Chinese. Believing this we devote ourselves to the supreme work of making known to them the truth as it is in Jesus as fully as we can, and of commending it to their hearts and consciences in every possible way."²

L.H.Gulick, present at the conference said,

"I have long since lost all faith in science as a converting power....Science must, and will, be taught, but the missionary as such has something better to do than impart scientific knowledge save as it bears directly on teaching and preaching the Gospel of Christ, which is his special province and privilege."³

1. George L. Mackay, From Far Formosa, N.Y. 1896, p.134

2. Records of the Missionary Conference held at Shanghai 1877, Shanghai, 1878, p. 32.

3. Ibid., p. 198.

This feeling that the Gospel was not only the one religion that would save but the only means whatever, science included, is implied by D. Z. Sheffield, then with the American Board at T'ungchow. He said to the Conference that

"Experience in some of the oldest fields had taught the missionaries that secular education did not of itself bring men nearer to Christ; and it had been found that men simply taught in Western science were harder to be reached by the Gospel than the heathen."¹

It was felt by some that revolution in other phases of life would follow spiritual evangelization. A. Williamson put the gospel as the foundation of any true advancement of China.

"Most emphatically they (Chinese) need something which shall awaken the moral sense, create the fear of God, and adjust and strengthen the conscience. This is absolutely indispensable to any degree of advancement in any department of the nation."²

The Rev. J. V. H. Talmadge, in opening the conference of 1877, made the statement more emphatically.

"All evil in the world results from the ruin of man's spiritual nature. This spiritual nature must be restored and all other desired revolutions will follow as a necessary consequence."³

1. Records of the Missionary Conference held at Shanghai '1877, Shanghai, 1878, p. 203.

2. Alexander Williamson, Journeys in North China etc., Vol. I, London 1870, p. 19.

3. Records of the Missionary Conference held at Shanghai '1877, Shanghai, 1878, p. 27.

How similar was their belief to that of Outslaff, expressed during the first period!

Not all missionaries regarded the Chinese religion as being utterly false. The recognition of the truth and value in it was increasing. The appraisal of value in Confucianism and the other religions varied from a grudging admission of some worth in them to the claim that Christianity was only the fulfillment of the truth contained in them. Krens, a German missionary of this period, held to the latter view, especially in regard to Confucianism. In a tract, "Christianity the Completion of Confucianism," he says,

"Many people do not like to follow this religion (Christianity); why is that? One reason is, because some people follow their own inclinations and lusts...Another reason is, some people, although they are able to rejoice in what is good, yet they misunderstand the intention of this religion and think that this religion wishes to destroy the good doctrines of their own religion, which have been handed down from the times of old, and to injure the good and noble customs of their country...Formerly, when Jesus was on earth, there were in Palestine also similar people; but Jesus said, 'Think not that I came to destroy the law or the prophets, I came not to destroy, but to fulfill' (Matthew V. 17). To fulfill, that means he wished to complete (make perfect) the old religion of his native land....to preserve all the good doctrines of that religion, to correct all the mistakes, to supplement all the insufficiencies. Is not the intention, so to complete the old religion of the native land, a good one? If so, why

then still fear Christianity?...Christianity wishes to complete Confucianism...Confucianism knows that there is a God....Confucianism knows that a man must be watchful over himself! Confucianism has the orthodox (right) doctrine about (other) men and understands the importance of human relations."¹

It is true that Kranz saw the defects in Confucianism, as did Legge in all Chinese religion, but yet the two recognized such values as to change their motive from one of replacing native religion, to one of fulfilling. A. Chaceon Moule did not go this far but he did recognize certain striking resemblances between portions of the Chinese classics and the Bible. He says,

"Quite early in my missionary life..... I was almost entranced by finding what I deemed adumbrations of the revelations of the Bible in the Confucian classics of China;.....But this phenomenon of partial and apparent resemblance in some aspects between Christ and other masters, Christianity and other faiths, so familiar two generations ago to missionaries and students, is brought forward now as a new discovery, and as one requiring a change of method, and an ironic tone, in place of denunciation and of reproof addressed to the professors of these creeds."²

W. A. P. Martin, in presenting an essay to the conference of 1890 on "The Worship of Ancestors - A Plea for Toleration" pointed out that the ancient custom had much to claim approving sympathy, among other things

1. Op. cit., Shanghai, 1896, pp. 1-3.

2. A.E.Moule, Half a Century in China, London, 1911, pp. 239-240.

being the strengthening of the bonds of family union, the stimulation to charity, the cherishing of self-respect, the imposing of moral restraint, and the keeping alive of faith in a future life.¹ In all fairness let it be said that with the exception of two dissenting voices a resolution was passed by the conference against Martin's view.

Timothy Richard was another who showed great appreciation for the best in the Chinese teachings. He tried to fit this with the best in Christianity.

These men, carrying on the ideas first expressed by Legge, Medhurst, and others, did much to restate that view, causing men to reconsider the aims and motives of missions. The recognition of so much value led many to doubt if the heathen were really lost, merely because they had not heard the name of Christ. The matter was brought to the forefront when the Andover controversy arose in the American Board, as to

1. Report of the Missionary Conference held at Shanghai, May 7-20, 1890, Shanghai, pp. 523-525.

whether missionaries should be required to affirm their disbelief in the theory of probation after death. In 1886 at its annual meeting the body passed a vote lamenting the tendency of the theory, and cautioning the Prudential Committee to guard the Board from committing itself to a doctrine judged to be divisive, perverse and dangerous.¹ For a long time the conservatives were in the majority. They feared that toleration of such a theory would cut the nerve of missions at home. The progressives continued to plead for freedom of religious views, claiming that the Board should not assume the place of an ecclesiastical council. The controversy waxed warm, as it involved the return of certain missionaries on furlough and the sending of new ones. Some threats were made of forming another Board. Finally in 1887 the Board announced the retention of the right to pass on the fitness of candidates but that missionaries were to have the same freedom of thought and speech as their ministerial

1. The Missionary Herald, Vol. LXXXII (1886), p. 475, contains a report of the annual meeting of the Board for that year and records the amendment adopted, a part of which reads: "The Board is constrained to look with grave apprehension upon certain tendencies of the doctrine of probation after death, which has recently been broached and diligently propagated, that seem divisive and perverse and dangerous to the churches at home and abroad. In view of these tendencies they do heartily approve of the action of the prudential committee carefully guarding the Board from any committal to the approval of that doctrine, and advise a continuance of that caution in time to come."

brethren at home, and that private or provincial standards of theology were not to be used as barriers in the way of men in other respects qualified for missionary service.¹ The radical change denoted is shown by the resignation of Dr. Edmund K. Alden, home secretary of the Board, as a result of the decision. He was inflexible in maintaining theological standards to which he believed every missionary should be committed. Dr. Augustus C. Thompson and Mr. Elbridge Torrey, two important members of the Prudential committee, also withdrew in 1893.² The fact that this dispute arose over sending out missionaries who did not believe in the damnation of the heathen who had had no opportunity to hear of Christ shows that the belief of missionaries was changing. This would be likely to affect their motive.

It was the sharp distinction between Christianity and every other religion, made by the more conservative group, that accounts for the continued emphasis on doctrine which we find in the background of the Andover Controversy. That there was a very distinct

1. William E. Strong, Story of the American Board, N.Y., 1910, pp. 330-331.

2. Ibid., pp. 332-333.

emphasis on doctrine on the field may be judged from the Rev. Wm. Talmadge's opening address at the 1877 Conference. He claimed that

"A man, in order to claim the name of Christian, must accept the doctrines of the blessed Trinity, of the Father and His sovereign Love, - of the Son and His mediatorial work, ...and of the Holy Spirit and His renewing and sanctifying influences and all the doctrines that legitimately flow therefrom, and must make public profession of the same. 'Baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost'."¹

The Rev. Mr. Nelson, in delivering an essay to the Conference on "Entire Consecration Essential to Missionary Success", enumerated as one of the three chief elements of missionary consecration, "A sound scriptural creed".² It is interesting to note an example in which all highly developed doctrines seem to have had no place, though the man himself was an ardent fundamentalist. Jonathan Goforth, of the Canadian Presbyterians, a powerful evangelist of the period, is said to have unfolded no formal doctrine of the atonement. Nor was the cross directly his theme, though his addresses burned with its spirit. Not once was he heard to speak of the dread mystery of torment everlasting, striking terror into the hearts of his hearers. What oppressed the hearts of the penitent was not any thought of future

1. Records of the Missionary Conference held at Shanghai 1877, Shanghai, 1878, p. 27.

2. Ibid., p. 49.

punishment. Their minds were full of thoughts of their own unfaithfulness, of ingratitude to the Lord who redeemed them and of the heinous sin of trampling on His love.¹

Goforth held that the mere acceptance of creed was not enough. He believed that men who had renounced idolatry and superstition and had been baptized in the faith of Christ, but who were still living in hatred, jealousy, uncleanness, falsehood, and dishonesty, pride, hypocrisy, worldliness, and avarice, were living in that which was in opposition to the Will and Spirit of God.² The Church was to encourage men to make the Spirit of God incarnate within themselves and society. This emphasis overshadowed the narrower doctrinal emphasis in many missionaries' conceptions. Faber said,

"It is not the duty of Protestant mission to propagate European forms of theology, modes of worship, church government, or Christian customs, but rather to spread abroad the faith in the Saviour of sinners and implant the new life of fellowship with God in Christ."³

1. The Revival in Manchuria, from letters of James Webster, transcribed by John Ross, Edinburgh, 1902, p. 21.

2. Ibid., p. 20.

3. Ernst Faber, Problems of Practical Christianity in China, Shanghai, 1897, p. 40.

He continued, that,

"The congregation is....theincarnation, or...the continued working of the divine incarnation through the vital union subsisting between the congregation and the exalted Christ....The divine-human activity of the congregation consists in bringing the redemptive scheme as it relates to the whole race more and more into practical application and tangible exhibition through the mediators-ship of Christ and the efficient in-working of the Holy Spirit."¹

Many other examples could be related from an increasing number of missionaries, both conservatives and liberals, who believed in the salvation of men's customs, manners, and relationships in this world as well as in a future life; but as this increasing tendency will be revealed in the discussion of methods it will be dropped here.

Finally under theology let us examine the type of call which men of this period received. The voice of God continued to speak to men and women in a mysterious way when they read the divine command and saw the needs of the heathen. Timothy Richard, later a pronounced liberal, relates his story.

"During the great revival which swept almost like a prairie fire over America, North Ireland, Wales, Scotland, Norway, and Sweden in 1858, 1860, the most godless men suddenly breaking down and becoming converted, I was among a number who confessed their faith in Christ, and was baptized in the river near my home. Shortly after this I had my first impulse towards missionary work from a sermon not

1. Ernst Faber, Problems of Practical Christianity in China, Shanghai, 1897, p. 40.

particularly missionary in content. I well remember the text, 'Obedience is better than sacrifice'. On my way home, I told my brother, Joshua, who was four years my senior, how during the whole sermon I had felt as if a voice had been commanding me to go abroad as a missionary. He wondered at it for no such idea had been conveyed to his mind."¹

James Addison Ingle had great confidence in the Divine element in his call.

"What is this surrender, this consecration? He (man) must not choose his sphere of life for himself, but must leave it to the love and wisdom of the Father, who will arrange the time, place, and circumstances better than he in his ignorance can do.

"If God saw fit to send His Son to earth to redeem men from sin and its consequences, without a doubt this redemption was a matter of importance in His sight...It was the way home to the Father that Christ came to illumine and make easy; that was the purpose of His coming....Could there then be any more acceptable offering of service, than to aid in this?

"But you ask 'Can I not do good work at home?' The question rather is, 'Am I willing to go? Am I content to let my Heavenly Father decide whether or not I shall go?' On this hinges the question of the reality and strength of our love...Do you think your work at home will be complete and will receive the fullest blessing, if we are steadily dodging a plain command, either refusing its consideration or openly disobeying it?...Religion is everything if it is anything to us. Consecration is entire or not at all..

"...The utmost gift of one's life is the obedience to Christ's great missionary commandment, 'Go ye into all the world.'"²

David Hill wrote in a letter in 1863, regarding his missionary call,

"I feel happy, very happy in committing my way unto the Lord, and trusting in Him to direct my paths."³

1. Timothy Richard, Forty Five Years in China, N.Y., 1916, p. 22

2. W.H. Jeffreys, James Addison Ingle, N.Y. 1913, pp. 15-16
3. W.T.A. Barber, David Hill, London, 1898, p. 31.

This call, direct from God, was backed by His command given directly in the New Testament, as is indicated by Ingle's statement.

Let us quote a single other example, that of the Rev. Mr. Talmadge who spoke to the convention of Protestant missionaries in Shanghai in 1877.

"Go ye, therefore, and teach all nations, baptising them in the name of the Father, and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you: and lo I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world."
(Matthew 28:18-20)

This he pointed out as the command and promise, "full of divinity",³ given to the missionary. Taylor makes his plea for obedience to this command:

".....Jesus commands you...., 'Go', says He, 'Go into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature'. Will you say to Him, 'No, it is not convenient.'"¹

The call from God, backed by the command given in the Scriptures, was often further backed by a call from the church, God's body and messenger on earth. Virgil C. Hart of the Methodists said,

"The church calls me to go and I think my Heavenly Father also - I must go. You ask me how long. I go for life....If Christ calls I sacrifice all for Him."²

1. J. Hudson Taylor, China's Spiritual Need and Claims, London, 1884, p. 37.

2. Letter to fiancée, Adeline Gilliland, quoted in E.I. Hart, Virgil C. Hart, N.Y., ca. 1917, p. 26.

³Records of the Missionary Conference held at Shanghai 1877, Shanghai, 1878, p. 25.

And finally the call was backed by the great need in China. Hart records this factor. India had been in his thoughts for a number of years, but now the needs of China with its teeming millions seemed more urgent. In China he found an opportunity and a reward more ample and satisfying than anything in the United States.¹ Calvin Mateer, the great Presbyterian missionary, wrote his mother,

"If I have prospects of usefulness at home surely nothing can be lost in this respect by doing what I am convinced is my duty. Indeed, one of the encouraging features, in fact the great encouragement, is a prospect of more extended usefulness than at home."²

There was a great deal of satisfaction in giving oneself thus to a most needy work.

Finally, the theological background of the period is evinced in statements describing God as an intervening power, setting aside certain natural laws to help those who followed Him. Moule, in describing the Tai Ping Rebellion said,

"It may encourage future missionaries in China to know how during the crisis of the Rebellion which we witnessed at Ningpo (1861-2), and during the long days of unrest and confusion which succeeded that crisis, God interfered to protect us. So wonderful was the Providence, so exactly timed the interference, that it seems in looking back to have

1. Letter to fiancée, Adeline Gilliland, quoted in E.I.Hart, Virgil C. Hart, N.Y., ca.1917, pp. 18-19.

2. Daniel W. Fisher, Calvin Wilson Mateer, London, 1911, p. 50.

been God's own hand visibly stretched out to save.....

"In all time of our tribulations and in what seemed to be 'the hour of death' at hand, the good Lord delivered us."¹

Hudson Taylor, also, cites example after example of direct answer to prayer which involved intervention and contained elements of the miraculous.² To minds conceiving this type of God, direct guidance in the choice of China as the field for one's labors was not an inconceivable matter.

In conclusion, it was believed during this period that other religions were false; they killed the soul, mind, and even the body. Missionaries were therefore constrained to show the mercy of God by urging upon the heathen acceptance of the salvation obtainable through Jesus Christ, God's supreme gift to His children. It was thought by a few that social reconstruction would then follow. The belief that Christianity was the fulfillment of the native religions was entertained by a growing element of the missionary group who increasingly recognized values here. It was generally argued that scientific knowledge would not save the Chinese, but some held it to be a detriment

1. Arthur E. Moule. The Glorious Land. London, 1891, p.15.

2. J. Hudson Taylor, China's Spiritual Need and Claims. London, 1884, pp. 49 ff.

to their salvation. The conservative group laid great emphasis on doctrine and creed; but an increasing group, which viewed Christianity as a fellowship not to be confused with mere forms, was gradually gaining for missions a new conception of evangelisation. Men continued to be called to the mission field directly of God and it was out of the desire to obey this divine will, backed by the New Testament Command, the call of the church, and the spiritual need of the heathen, that many of the leading missionaries of the period devoted their lives to the salvation of the Chinese and the betterment of their condition in this world.

III. Motive: Better the Contact of the West with China.

The fact that both wars leading to the opening of China to the West were brought about immediately because of the attempt to force opium on China is only one evidence of the many evils which grew out of commercial contact between the Orient and the Occident. The Christian nations already owed a great debt to China, to give her the news of the Gospel, and as the Rev. Chauncey Goodrich, of Tung-cho, wrote to one of the mission periodicals of the day,

"The wrongs which China has suffered from Christian people (so-called) greatly increase that debt. Chief among these wrongs stands the

opium trade...China needed help in her struggle against the drug, and she received bullets and cannon-balls.

"And then the recent outrages against the Chinese in our land! Not even a money indemnity for property destroyed has been allowed, though it has been suggested as a benevolence. Not so have we been treated by the Chinese. Compute now, who owe the debt we owe as a Christian people to China, a debt of love and the gospel."¹

The sense of this obligation to give to China the best of the West is shown in the work of Timothy Richard with the higher classes, and of Gilbert Reid and W.A. P. Martin in the organization of the "Mission Among the Higher Classes of China". The International Institute, as it has been called, contained in one of its reports this statement:

"The aim is to promote the advance, the enlightenment and the prosperity of China, to bring about harmony of intercourse with foreigners, to effect a larger religious toleration and to inculcate truth and righteousness."²

The methods used will be dealt with later. But this movement is only an illustrative example of the attempt to make every point of contact between the East and West beneficial, which became one of the main motives of the missionary after 1900.

1. Panoplist and Missionary Herald, Vol. LXXII, (1886), Boston, pp. 258-259.

2. Gilbert Reid, Sixth Report of the Mission among the Higher Classes in China. The International Institute, Shanghai, 1897, p. 18.

IV. Motive as Revealed in Methods.

The methods of this period are those which would naturally be expected immediately after the opening of a large territory to the gospel, those of pioneering. The land was spied out and messengers of the Good News tried quickly to bring the saving message to every part of the vast empire. True to the theology of the times, the emphasis was placed on evangelism, or telling the message of Christ to as many as possible. Hudson Taylor even had a calculation made as to the number of years it would take a certain number of missionaries to evangelize China.¹ Calvin W. Mateer gives us a little touch of the life of the evangelist of the period:

"I have traveled in mule litters, on donkeys, and on foot over a large part of the province of Shantung, preaching from village to village, on the streets, and by the wayside. Over the nearer portions I have gone again and again. My preaching tours would aggregate from twelve thousand to fifteen thousand miles, including from eight thousand to twelve thousand addresses to the heathen."²

Mateer firmly believed in this phase of missionary work and regarded other methods as subsidiary to preaching the gospel.

The conference of Protestant Missionaries gathered at Shanghai, in 1877, representing every

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1. J. Hudson Taylor, China's Spiritual Need and Claims, London, 1884, pp. 18 ff.
 2. Daniel W. Fisher, Calvin Wilson Mateer, London, 1911, p. 105.

important Board in the field, leaves us nothing to doubt as to the prime place of the evangelistic method. The general impression one gets from reading the report, is that medical, educational, women's work, etc., are all of importance - but that they must be subservient to the preaching of the Gospel. Those which might come nearest standing on their own feet were probably education, medicine, printing, and distribution of literature.¹ The committee on "Appeal to the Home Churches" gave expression to the primary need for preachers:

"We chiefly need men to preach the Word, to instruct the converts, and watch over the native church, training it for self-government....We want China emancipated from the thraldom of sin in this generation."²

Records of the Conference held thirteen years later at the same place, and equally representative of the attitude of the Protestant missionary body, show that the opinion had not changed perceptibly. D. Z. Sheffield, of the American Board, in addressing the meeting on the "Relation of Christian Education to the Present Condition and needs of China", emphasized the fact that spiritual regeneration was China's greatest need.

1. Records of the Missionary Conference Held at Shanghai 1877, Shanghai, 1878, ad. passim.

2. Ibid., pp. 477-478.

"China needs intellectual enlightenment, but she has a far greater need of spiritual regeneration, her officers of government, and all classes of the people, however much of the Western learning they may acquire, will still remain 'sinners before the emperor and sinners before God.'" ¹

The committee on "Lay Agency" included in its report, adopted, by the convention, the statement of evangelism as the highest service.

"Beginning with the highest service, and touching the deepest need of the country, it (we) would point to the many millions of our fellow-men who have never heard the Gospel of the grace of God....They (we) would urge on the youth of the Home churches the nobility of service which a Christian evangelist may thus render to the Lord in China." ²

The China Inland Mission is representative of the importance of evangelism, its work being primarily of this nature.³ The work of the American Baptist Foreign Mission Society was also illustrative of this point. Lida Scott Ashmore in relating the work said,

"The leading of the individuals to a personal acceptance of Jesus Christ, as Saviour and Lord, is recognized as fundamental, the work of supreme importance. In a very real sense, the ultimate aim of all our work, whatever outward form it may take, has always been and still is evangelistic." ⁴

1. Records of the Missionary Conference Held at Shanghai May 7-20, 1890. Shanghai, 1890, p. 472.

2. Ibid. p. liv, introduction.

3. Marshall Broomhall, Jubilee Story of the China Inland Mission, London, 1915, p. 30.

4. Lida Scott Ashmore, South China Mission of the American Baptist Foreign Missionary Society, Shanghai, 1910, p. 85.

Rev. William Ashmore, the greatest missionary of this organisation, sailed in 1850 and was a true representative of the evangelistic method, giving his time to street preaching, training preachers, writing pamphlets, and contributing to the many other phases of this work.¹

John Ross, one of the foremost ministers of the United Presbyterian Church, typified that Church's feeling when he said,

"The money collected by the Christian Church has one great object in view - that which we call by the frequently misunderstood name of conversion. This does not mean the transference of so many people from Buddhist to Christian ranks; it does not signify a change, but the transformation, of character."²

Even those organizations which had the more cultural aspects as their aim recognized the important place of this direct method. Gilbert Reid points out that a part of the work of the International Institute was "occasional preaching".³

Let us not leave the impression that to all missionaries evangelization meant the mere act of having men name Christ as their example and Saviour. To most it was more than merely telling the Good News. It came gradually to include within itself various types of work which may be characterized as evangelism.

1. Lida Scott Ashmore, South China Mission of the American Baptist Foreign Missionary Society, Shanghai, 1910, p. 176.

2. Rev. John Ross, Old Wang, London, 1889, p. 108.

3. Gilbert Reid, Sixth Report of the Mission among the Higher Classes in China, The International Institute, Shanghai, 1897, pp. 18 ff.

"by which the Christian message is announced and converts are won; edification by which there is built up a church with competent leadership; philanthropy which seeks to relieve suffering, and the permeation of the non-Christian Community with Christian ideas..... The purposes themselves are not mutually exclusive but complementary. The missionary, confronted by different and complex situation,¹ has been moved by all these motives. That they are all Christian and legitimate missionary motives can hardly be questioned."¹

Thus we find no clear division between the social and evangelistic because of the fact that they merge so closely into one another and are combined by various groups in such varying proportions.² But we do find a distinct effort to reproduce through a rather set type of evangelism the credal church with more or less of the Church Community, as evidenced above.

Let us examine more closely, this social work, which ranged from mere organization of the church community to a fairly secular philanthropic activity, so as to see the real motive of the missionary in conducting it. Mr. Edkins in presenting an Essay to the Conference of 1877 said,

"The missionary and the school master, the magazine and the newspaper are all needed to check these bad influences (Buddhism and Taoism) and replace dangerous and injurious

1. Christian Education in China, Commission Report.
N.Y., 1922, pp. 33-34.

2. Cleland Boyd McAfee, Changing Foreign Missions.
N.Y., 1927, pp. 260-261.

3. George L. Kroeber, Anthropology, N.Y., 1939, p. 133.

popular notions by healthy and useful knowledge to be gathered from God's two books, that of Nature and that of Revelation... What a field is presented here for the teaching of science, and the spread of a practical system of improved education in China. Dense intellectual darkness clouds the people's minds. Education must strike at the religious superstition of Taoism."¹

W. A. P. Martin gives us another view of the social method as being a part of that gospel which brings salvation in this world as well as in the future.

He gives an example:

"An old missionary, on the eve of his embarking for his field of labor, once held up before my eyes something that resembled an elegant bird-cage, and asked me to guess what it contained. Said I, 'I have not the least idea - a fairy queen, perhaps, for it looks like a palace.' 'It is a palace', he said, 'and it shelters a queen; I am taking a queen bee to India, to improve the native breed of honey makers.' Beautiful emblem of the gospel of Christ, which redeems human nature from its wild state, and enriches and sweetens this life as a forerunner of that which is to come!"²

George Mackay, of Formosa, found the "raison d'etre" of the social gospel in the fact that Christianity was a life.,

"Christianity is not a system of philosophy that may be taught, but a life that must be lived."³

1. Records of the Missionary Conference held at Shanghai, 1877, Shanghai, 1878, pp. 70-71.

2. W.A.P. Martin, A Cycle of Cathay, N.Y., 1896, p. 457.

3. George L. Mackay, From Far Formosa, N.Y., 1896, p. 153.

Timothy Richard writes,

"The problem before the missionary in China, as I found it forty-five years ago, was not only how to save the souls of a fourth of the human race, but also how to save their bodies from perishing at the rate of four millions per annum, and to free their minds, more crippled than the feet of their women, from a philosophy and custom which had lasted for many centuries and left them at the mercy of any nation which might attack their nation."¹

Speaking further of his reminiscences he says,

"they tell of sympathetic efforts made to guide the spiritual leaders of China to a vision of the Kingdom of God, with its promise of a hundred fold in this world, and in the world to come life everlasting. These efforts have meant the uplifting of China in various ways, through better religion, better science, better means of communication, better international commerce, the institution of modern schools and colleges, the founding of a modern press, the establishment of new industries and manufactures, over a country as large as the whole of Europe."²

Thus Richard's conception and motive was to permeate and save all civilization with the gospel and principles of Christ. Hardly a more modern exponent of Social Christianity is to be found today. These examples give us a fairly good view of the attitude toward the social gospel, as a means of combatting other faiths, as a method of saving society itself, and as the fulfillment of Christianity, a life to be lived.

1. Timothy Richard, Forty Five Years in China, N.Y., 1916, p. 7.

2. Ibid., p. 7.

Let us examine some of the specific methods used to make these ideals realities.

Foremost among the social methods was education, probably because it was so directly auxiliary to evangelism. The need for natives to assist in the work of evangelization was great and this was the best method of developing an indigenous clergy. Calvin Mateer, pointed out this need.

"So long as all the Christian literature of China is the work of foreigners, so long will the Chinese Church be weak and dependent. She needs as rapidly as possible a class of ministers with well-trained and well-furnished minds, who will be able to write books, defending and enforcing the doctrines of Christianity and applying them to the circumstances of the Church in China."¹

Mateer iterated and reiterated that by far the most imperative duty of the missionary in China was the training of native preachers and teachers on a scale and in a manner such as would fit them to meet the emergency and to take advantage of the opportunity for the evangelization of the land and the starting of the church, that soon was to be, on a course that would not, through lack of proper native guidance, wreck itself on the way.²

1. Daniel W. Fisher, Calvin Wilson Mateer. London, 1911, p. 131.

2. Ibid., p. 314.

But education in missions was coming to be emphasized through another motive than that of merely providing church leadership. Men felt more and more that Western science had something to contribute to the present salvation of China, and that education ought not be confined merely to the ministry. Mateer, founder of the Shantung College at Tengchow, in 1894, said,

"Schools also which give a knowledge of Western science and civilization cannot fail to do great good both physically and socially."¹

In accordance with these ideas the Shantung College had for its aim

"to educate both in Chinese and Western learning; and to do this from the standpoint and under the influence of Christianity."²

The institution was to

"embrace a six years course in Chinese classics, general science, and Christian ethics; including particularly 'The Four Books' and 'Five Classics', Chinese history, with Biblical and general history, mathematics, physical, mental and moral sciences, evidences of Christianity, and so forth."³

The work of education from the broadest viewpoint was advocated by Timothy Richard. In writing to the

1. Paper on "Relation of Protestant Missions to Education", read before the Conference of 1877, quoted in Daniel W. Fisher, Calvin Wilson Mateer, London, 1911, p. 128.

2. Plan of the College, quoted in Daniel W. Fisher, Calvin Wilson Mateer, London, 1911, pp. 207-208.

3. Ibid.

Baptist Missionary Society, about 1877, he stated that one of the four main ways in which China could be helped was through

"teaching the people the true principles of Christian civilisation, including medicine, chemistry, mineralogy, history."¹

Finally, the entire mission body came to view this method as one of the most efficient for determining the course of the spread of Western culture in China, that it might be favorable to the welfare of the Chinese. The "Lay Committee" of the Conference of 1890 reported accordingly:

"....We hear a loud call to the Christian Church to supply in large numbers Christian educationalists for China. The intellectual renaissance of the empire is just commencing; there is an impatient cry for Western culture; and the response which the Christian church may make to their cry will, to no inconsiderable extent, decide the course which education of the country will take in the future."²

That the emphasis here expressed was heard and that educational work was not being lost in the great influx of evangelistic workers is shown by the fact that while the number of missionaries practically doubled between the years 1877 and 1890 the number of students in schools almost tripled, increasing from 5700 in 1877 to 16,800 in 1890.³ Furthermore, the type of

1. Timothy Richard, Forty Five Years in China, N.Y., 1916, p. 124.

2. Report of the Missionary Conference, held at Shanghai May 7-20, 1890, Shanghai, 1890, p. liv.

3. Figures and comparisons from Records of the Missionary Conference of 1877, p. 146; of 1890, p. 732.

education over the thirteen years had become widely varied and now included women's education, colleges, seminaries, and universities, to give training for the ministry, to teach science, mathematics, etc., and to give religious instruction.¹

Education in its broadest sense, of course, includes the printing and distribution of literature. But there were some organizations for this specific purpose and which reveal the desire of missionaries to bring the best secular as well as religious thought of the West to China. The Society for the Diffusion of Christian Knowledge, founded by Alexander Williamson, is especially noteworthy. The purpose of this organization as stated by its originator was the circulation of literature based on Christian principles throughout China, her colonies and dependencies, literature written from a Chinese standpoint, with a knowledge of native modes of thought and adapted to instruct and elevate the people, especially the more intelligent and ruling classes.²

Williamson named some of the contributions made by missionaries themselves to the field of literature:

1. H.T. Plumb, "History of Mission Schools," in Records of the Missionary Conference, Shanghai, May 7-20 Shanghai, 1890, p. 452.

2. Timothy Richard, Forty Five Years in China, N.Y., 1916, p. 216.

"We are thus left in a great measure dependent upon Protestant Missions for the advancement of knowledge, civilization, and true progress among the people. In this connection I shall take the liberty of stating what has been done by Protestant Missionaries, and that mainly since 1850, and here I need not speak of the translation of the Scriptures and the numerous religious works; or of dictionaries and grammars in common use...Nor need I speak of the weekly periodicals...nor tell of the extent to which they have aided the Chinese newspapers...nor...to the information on China which missionaries have communicated to the public. The Supreme Court and Consular Gazette, Nov. 14, 1858, says, in reference to them: 'To such men are we indebted for more than nine tenths of our knowledge of China and the Chinese' Dr. Hobson has given - works on Physiology;... Principles and Practice of Surgery;...the practice of medicine...; on the Elements of Chemistry and Natural Philosophy; Mr. Wylie the whole of Euclid; Dr. Morgan's Algebra, Herschel's Astronomy; Mr. Edkins...Whewell's Mechanics; Mr. Fairhead... a work on English history and another on Universal geography; ...Dr. W.A.P. Martin...Whewell's International Law, and...an...illustrated work...on chemistry and Natural Philosophy; other missionaries... works on electro telegraphy, Botany, and... almost every subject of Western science."¹

The number of books was matched by the character of the scholarship in every field. Thus missionary centers became "centers of civilization...flood of light".² The statement of Williamson is borne out by Edkins, who at the very beginning of the period showed how missionaries were spreading their influence through books and publications.³ The International

1. Alexander Williamson, Journeys in North China, London, 1870, pp. 26-28.

2. Ibid., p. 29.

3. Joseph Edkins, The Religious Condition of the Chinese, London, 1859, p. 283.

Institute under Gilbert Reid affords further examples of this type of missionary service.¹

Medical work continued to form the third big element of the missionary method. The Mission among the Higher Classes carried on this type of work under the care of a native.² We find an advance especially among the women medical missionaries, twenty-three being in service in China in 1890.³ Difficulty was still being found in working outside hospitals, as Faber tells us,

"Missionary physicians also have as yet no influence outside of the hospitals."⁴

But even within its own limits medicine continued to be a valuable asset to missions. Virgil Hart tells us,

"Experience has taught us some valuable lessons, and one is that to open new stations in China and prosecute work there is no influence so powerful as that of the healing art."⁵

Relief of other physical ills came to be a large part of this salvation of present life in China.

1. Gilbert Reid, Sixth Report of the Mission Among the Higher Classes in China, The International Institute, Shanghai, 1897, pp. 18 ff.

2. Ibid.

3. Report of the Missionary Conference held at Shanghai, May 7-20, 1890, Shanghai, 1890, p. 710.

4. Ernst Faber, Problems of Practical Christianity in China, Shanghai, 1897, p. 37.

5. E.I.Hart, Virgil C. Hart, N.Y., 1917, p. 98.

Famine relief, recommended by Richard¹ as one of the four main ways of aiding China, played a great part. The "Lay Agency Committee" of the Conference of 1890 advocated this form of relief, utilising the wealth of the world to alleviate famine, floods, etc.,² believing that.

"In as much as ye did it unto the least of these ye have done it unto me."

Footbinding was another ill which the missionary tried to eliminate. The Conference of 1877 passed this resolution against the practice,:

"Resolved that in view of the manifold evils resulting from footbinding, we urge all missionaries to discountenance and discourage it."³

Such, along with many others, were the methods used to alleviate physical suffering, and in these, though used primarily as auxiliaries to evangelistic work, we see a desire to help China for the sake of herself as well as for the sake of the gospel or merely the glory of God.

This increased centering of the methods around China's present needs rather brought a desire to co-operate more fully with the Chinese, a cooperation of denominations in meeting the vast needs, and began a

1. Timothy Richard, Forty Five Years in China, N.Y., 1916, p. 124.

2. Records of the Missionary Conference held at Shanghai, May 7-20, 1890, Shanghai, 1890, p. liv-lv.

3. Ibid. p. 21.

gradual decrease of denominational or doctrinal narrowness. Williamson said,

"We are members of the same church and so I venture to submit that those of us who can should unite...No one can be a strict denominationalist in this heathen land...I believe therefore that denominationalism as far as possible should go to the winds...And not denominationalism only but let nationality go to the winds."¹

Not only did it bring about increased cooperation between denominations but it aroused a stronger desire to build up a National Church in China, run by Chinese, Faber said,

"It is not my object to advocate the introduction of a foreign Church into China, but to aim at laying the foundations of a Chinese National Church supported and held in living efficiency by a spiritual faith..The same Evangelical Faith which we hold must be applied in China to the far different China surroundings."²

Timothy Richard was another who thought the solution of the mission problem lay in educating and converting the higher class natives so that they,

"after becoming Christians, could convert their fellow-countrymen all over the Empire."³

Not only could they do this but the thought that, being the most civilized non-Christian nation,

"they would...help carry the gospel to less advanced nations."⁴

1. A. Williamson, "The Field and Its Magnitude". Report of the Missionary Convention held at Shanghai, 1877, Shanghai, 1877, p. 61.

2. Ernest Faber, Problems of Practical Christianity in China, Shanghai, 1897, p. 39.

3. Timothy Richard, Forty Five Years in China, N.Y., 1916, p. 29.

4. W.E. Soothill, Timothy Richard of China, London, 1924, pp. 27-28 .

And last of the realizations brought by centering missions around the problem was the conviction that missions must work not only for the Chinese and through them, but also with them. Young J. Allen, in relating some observations on "The Changed Aspects of China", said to the 1890 conference,

"The change implied (in the change in China) that of pupil and teacher, is not the least significant feature of this new order of things. Hitherto...we have preached at them, taught at them;...we loathed their heathenism, pitied them, but sympathy and love were in large part wanting; ...our relation was lacking in mutuality... We were called teachers but had few pupils."¹

Gilbert Reid pointed out the International Institute as an attempt to carry out these principles. He said,

"A mission among the higher classes is not so much a mission to them, as a mission for them, - so through and with them for the masses, ...Seeking the interests of China."²

What a change from the mere "seeking the glory of God"³ to finding in the needs of China and in the solution of every phase of her problem the highest glory of God.

1. Records of the Missionary Conference held at Shanghai, 1890, Shanghai, 1890, p. 20.

2. Gilbert Reid, Sixth Report of the Mission Among the Higher Classes in China, The International Institute, Shanghai, 1897, pp. 7-8

3. See quotation at end of Chapter I., P. 49.

In brief, the methods employed were dominantly evangelistic; but the broader desire to bring the Kingdom of God and Righteousness on Earth, as well as in the future life, developed a more social method. In this way alleviation of men's physical and mental troubles became valuable in themselves, not merely means to conversion. And lastly the missionaries were beginning to see the need of recognising the Chinese as brothers, of working with them on a reciprocal basis for the good of China and of doing away with needless denominational differences. Evangelistic work was becoming more social, building and caring for the Christian community. This type of evangelism dominated, with more social methods as auxiliaries.

Summary

In the conditions of the times we see China, a vast new field, open for the first time to the missionary, the need for men to preach to thousands who had never yet heard the saving news of Jesus' atonement, the opportunity to alleviate physical suffering due to famine and rebellion, the need to remove a stigma placed upon the name Christian by a pseudo-Christian revolt, the assurance of the religious capacity of the Chinese, a sense of the break down of the existing native religions, the ability of the West to support

materially a greater missionary movement, a new religious enthusiasm in the West, in China a resentment of the presence of the foreigner and a tendency to the use of force against him.

In theology we find differences, varying from total condemnation of native religions to the belief in Christianity as the fulfillment of the many good elements found there, the general attitude being the former. But an increasing number were coming to see value in Chinese philosophy and conceptions. Missionaries, even the most liberal, still heard the direct call of God, backed by the Bible and the actual need on the field, to bring news of the atonement for sinners, and of God's great love and mercy. Fear seems to have been less stressed, probably due to a changing attitude toward the future life and the increased emphasis on salvation of the present world.

And lastly, the methods, largely centering in the evangelistic, were expanding, the need of the Chinese here and now becoming the center rather than the desire to propagate a certain doctrine of future salvation. Many phases of social work witnessed to the desire to save men's bodies and minds as well as their souls.

And an increasing element saw the need for bringing every phase of the best of the Occident to the Orient to better the contact between the nations. Christianity, once a creed to be propagated, was fast passing through a transitional period and evolving - a life to be lived in every human and divine relationship.

Chapter IV

Transition

1895 - Present

To describe China at the present is an almost impossible task. Each phase of her present revolution could be adequately portrayed only in books many times the size of this essay. Therefore we shall not try so much to make this study comprehensive as representative, taking our evidence as to the view of the Protestant missionaries of this period from Conferences held within the time, which were representative of the groups working in China, and from individuals representing the varying points of view.

I. Conditions

The intricate nature of the situation which we shall try to analyze is indicated by Paul Monroe in his recent book, China: A Nation in Evolution. He says,

"To understand life in China take a pinch of the struggle of the Early Church; throw in a little of the European Renaissance; add some of the wild thinking and bloody events of the French Revolution; pour in a good quantity of the Spirit of 1776; add a little Bolshevik red pepper, then mix well and cook until half baked."¹

1. Op. cit., N.Y., 1928, Introd. p. xvi.

An outstanding condition of the country, and the one which is probably most evident, is the political difficulty through which China is passing. First in a long line of national troubles came the war with Japan in 1894-5. This came as the result of differing policies advocated by Japan and China in the buffer state, Korea. The occasion for war came with a rebellion there,¹ to which both nations sent troops. To make a long story short, China found herself defeated by her younger Oriental sister, Japan. This was the last straw in opening China to the West. It was irritating enough to have been defeated by Western nations

"but to be defeated by the Japanese, a race of pirates, a race despised, that was indeed a rousing blow, and not to the government only, but to the thoughtful classes throughout the country -- and, indeed, to foreign nations also."²

The effect of this blow on China may be seen by the statement of one who was on the ground at the time, Sir Robert Hart, founder of the Chinese customs service, who wrote to C. Hannen, Jan. 6th, 1897,

1. K. S. Latourette, The Development of China, Boston, 1917, pp. 178-180.

2. H. E. Boothill, China and the West, London, 1925, p. 167.

"Poor China has been knocked into a cocked hat; the outlook is threatening; their officials will not reform...The situation is heart-breaking, and has caused me immense worry, sorrow, and anxiety."¹

Distrust in the government of Old China began to open the Chinese mind to suggestions and new ideas; but her spirit toward the foreigners was not greatly changed. The ceding of Liaotung and Formosa to Japan, and the saddling on China of a huge war indemnity (230,000,000 taels) by the treaty of Shimonoseki did not make her any more friendly.² China's humiliation was complete. No wonder that she was a bad loser, and that being unable to give vent to her resentment against the Japanese, she took it out on the missionary in a number of persecutions leading up to the Boxer outbreak in 1900.³ But let us go back a few years. The war with Japan and its settlement was followed by the breaking up of China into spheres of influence by the Western Nations. France and Germany led in this dismemberment of the Empire and poor China was utterly exhausted, prostrate before the foreigner.⁴

1. Quoted in H. B. Morse, International Relations of the Chinese Empire, Vol. III, London, 1918, p. 53.

2. Ibid., pp. 47 ff.

3. Ibid., p. 54.

4. W. E. Soothill, China and the West, London, 1906, 1925, pp. 169 ff.

The need for a change of heart and mind on the part of China was clear. She must open her arms to the foreigner and become less conservative. An effort to accomplish this came in the reforms attempted by the Young Emperor, Kuang Hsu. During the Hundred Days of Reform edict after edict came from the throne ordering change from conservative Chinese systems to more liberal forms of the West. The system of education based on the classics was questioned, more modern subjects offering a view of the West were to be offered - history, political systems, mathematics, arts, and sciences. A complete re-organisation of the government was to take place; temples were to be turned into school rooms and colleges erected.¹

This attempt and desire of China to learn from the West gave to the missionary a chance to put into the new China some of his own ingredients. He attempted to determine the direction of the War of 1895 and to mould the reforms following China's prostration. What a chance was offered, in the displacement of Confucian classics as the official education, for the advancement of Western moral and intellectual ideas! New schools were demanded, new literature and tract societies organized, old societies extended their work, and many new societies entered the

1. *Ibid.* pp. 77-78.

field. Timothy Richard gives some side lights on the part played by the missionary. Influential in official circles at the time of the Japanese War, he suggested to the Viceroy that China's affairs be settled by some foreign power and reforms of all kinds be instituted.¹ He also gives us an idea of the importance of the Society for Diffusion of Christian Knowledge.

"During 1894 the circulation of the 'Wang Kueh Kung Pao' was doubled, and so great was the demand that one month a second edition had to be printed. Dr. Allen's (Y.J.) articles on the war were greatly appreciated as being the only reliable record in Chinese. The ...China Merchants Steamship Company doubled their subscriptions, and distributed some of our publications amongst the leading officials in the capital.... I finished the translation of Mackenzie's History of the Nineteenth Century, which was issued to give the statesmen of China information regarding the recent progress of the world and to point out that if they adopted the reforms of the West there would be hope for their country."²

In this latter work Richard pointed out the defeats of China as God's punishment for her refusal to break down the barriers keeping her from living in happiness and peace with her brothers. Richard sent copies to the Viceroys and as a result was asked by Li Hung-Chang one of these, to come to see him in Tientsin.³ News dealers

1. Timothy Richard, Forty Five Years in China, N.Y., 1916, pp. 236-237.

2. Ibid., pp. 230-231.

3. Timothy Richard, Forty Five Years in China, N.Y., 1916, p. 231. The important part played by Richard in the thinking of the Viceroys is described in his interviews, pp. 231-241. He was later invited to be an advisor to the Emperor, p. 263.

every where who had refused to sell Christian literature now pirated the works of the Society and the barrier between Christian and non-Christian literature was broken down.¹

The influence of these men in the Reform movement is further shown by Richard. He related that

"about this time, Dr. Gilbert Reid, of the American Presbyterian mission, an old friend from Shantung, had begun work among the higher classes in Peking, hoping to make them friendly toward Christianity. He, Mr. Petrick, and I were frequently invited to dinner by the members of the Reform Club, and we in turn invited them back. At each dinner speeches were delivered bearing on reform in China, and discussions followed in which the members took the keenest interest. They invited me to remain in Peking a few months so as to give them advice as to how they should proceed."²

Richard's hopefulness at the ideas of the Reform Club is shown by his statement that it

"recognized that the old hatred of foreigners was unjustifiable, and that their friendship should be cultivated; that the ancient education of China was all too inadequate to meet modern requirements, and that Western learning should be adopted. Some reformers even went so far as to say that Confucianism was too material, and they boldly advocated the adoption of Christianity as the national religion. Another sign of the time was the sudden increase of newspapers from nineteen to seventy, within the years."³

China could not be changed by edicts. Conservatism was a thing too deep seated to uproot by mere words. Re-

1. Ibid. p. 231-233.

2. Ibid. p. 255.

3. Timothy Richard, Forty Five Years in China, N. Y., 1916, p. 261.

Form did not save the situation and many of the conservatives viewed it as merely another compromise with the West. Therefore, a reaction to things Chinese set in under the leadership of the Empress Dowager, who resumed regency, had the Reformers hunted down and executed, banished, or cashiered, and generally reversed the reform edicts. The too visionary and precipitous movements lost for China, the West, and Christianity, a great opportunity.¹ The seed of the New China had only been planted by the blood of martyrs.²

This reaction culminated in the Boxer uprising,

"a last blind, desperate attempt of the Chinese to rid themselves of the unpopular alien."³

This movement grew out of the increasing persecutions of foreigners and native Christians. The "Boxers", or "Righteous Harmony Fists", were the leaders against "aggression by the foreigner". The Empress Dowager finally gave her sanction to the movement and scores of missionaries and hundreds of

1. H. B. Morse, International Relations of the Chinese Empire, Vol. III, London, 1916, pp. 146-154.

2. North China Herald, October 10, 1898, quoted Ibid. p. 154.

3. K. S. Latourette, The Development of China, Boston, 1917, p. 191.

Chinese Christians were slaughtered.¹ The massacres were finally stopped by the use of foreign troops and Peking was put under martial law. Western soldiers promenaded through the palace and humiliation struck deep in the heart of the Celestial Empire.² In 1901 the Boxer Protocol, signed by China and eleven Western Nations, sent China to the lowest depths of humiliation. Measures which affected missions were,

1. The suspension of the old examination system in cities where foreigners were killed or persecuted (for five years).
2. Revision of former treaties, full protection being given to missionaries and converts in all matters of faith, and right to hold property in all parts of the empire being guaranteed to Protestants.³

At last missionaries had freedom. The desire to take greatest advantage of it followed. Timothy Richard, characteristic of his broad thinking, suggested a university in Shansi from the Boxer indemnity of that province, the purpose being to forward understanding between China and the West, preventing another such out break. The Chinese Plenipotentiaries agreed to this. They consequently ordered a university to be founded in each province.⁴

1. Ernst Faber, Chronological Handbook of the History of China, Shanghai, 1902, pp. 347-349.

2. H. B. Morse, International Relations of the Chinese Empire, Vol. III, London, 1918, pp. 386-387.

3. Ibid, pp. 347-359, 374. Cfs. from American Treaty (1903) Art. -xiv, and other official documents.

4. Timothy Richard, Forty Five Years in China, N.Y., 1916, pp. 393-394.

This is characteristic of the eleven years which followed. New institutions were rapidly introduced. The Chinese, comparatively open minded, were critically analyzing the West and its stock of institutions and seeking to select from it the elements on which they might build. This movement afforded the missionary the greatest opportunity that had ever come to him in China.

One other event added to the sorrows of China and helped her see that she must adopt Western methods. Japan defeated Russia on China's own soil (1905) while China, helpless, stood by watching the conflict. This lesson of an Eastern nation defeating a Western nation with its own weapons was encouraging. As a result Chinese conservatism broke and China began to dress herself in new garments.¹ Students rapidly became interested in Western learning and the Empress Dowager, in order to keep the Manchu throne from being swept aside, began a number of reforms. The old school system was abolished and schools teaching Western and Chinese subjects were opened throughout the Empire. Concessions were granted to foreign capital to build new railroads. The public press grew rapidly; postal, telegraph, and railway systems were started. Factories were established and mines were opened.² China was

1. K. S. Latourette, The Development of China, Boston, 1918, pp. 198-201.

2. Ibid. pp. 202-204.

arming herself with the methods of the West.

Under the impetus of Western ideas China began to see the need of governmental and legal reorganization to replace the old systems which had so obviously failed under new world conditions. Consequently in 1906 orders were given for the revision of the government and missions were sent abroad to study other systems,¹ in anticipation of the setting up of a constitutional monarchy. In 1908 the Emperor and the Empress Dowager died. The last great leader of the Manchus thus passed and the revolutionary movement, under the leadership of Sun Yat-Sen, easily replaced the new regency with a Republic during a restless period in 1911. The more democratic element of the South compromised with the North through placing Yuan Shin-Kai, former supporter of the Manchus, in power as provisional president of united China.² The immediate changes brought were the election of the governmental head, and democratic ideals of popular control of all branches of the government.³ In fact, however, Yuan, being more conservative, dismissed the more liberal members of the Assembly at the first disagreement, and the government practically reverted to

1. W. E. Soothill, China and the West, London, 1925, p. 186.

2. K. S. Latourette, The Development of China, Boston, 1917, pp. 210-212.

3. Ibid. p. 210.

the old monarchy.¹ In 1916 Yuan died and under Li Yuan-Hung the National Assembly dissolved by Yuan took up its work where it had dropped it in 1913.²

Let us go back and pick up the meaning of this reconstruction for missions. We have mentioned that the Chinese opposition to the West broke down. The Missionary Herald of 1912 testifies to the fact that one of the new conditions vitally affecting mission work was the "changed attitude toward foreigners and modern education".³ That China was now in a position to be greatly impressed by the West is indicated by the Report of the "Commission on the Missionary Message" of the World Missionary Conference, at Edinburgh, in 1910, which contained this statement by a Chinese, C. T. Wang,

"There can be no doubt, that the wonderful advance of the Christian nations in scientific knowledge and mechanical skill, and their extraordinary strength and prosperity have impressed the Chinese and compelled their admiration for the religion under whose inspiring influence such marvellous achievements have been attained."⁴

1. Ibid. p. 213-214.

2. Ibid., pp. 216-217.

3. Op. cit., p. 170, N.Y. Conference on China.

4. The Missionary Message, Report of Commission IV, Edinburgh Conference, 1910, Edinburgh, 1910, p. 61.

The break down of the opposition of the Chinese to the West was thus one of the main conditions of the period.

It is obvious that with such a break would come an intellectual revolution. Vast, unexplored fields of Western knowledge lay open. The taboo on Christian literature was gone. China was eager to learn from the West and the fact that the student class had such a large hand in the political change¹ made the interest in new ideas all the greater. The China Centenary Missionary Conference, held at Shanghai in 1907, and representing the Protestant missionary group, recognized the great opportunity presented in this cry for new literature. In its "Memorial to the Home Churches" we find this statement,

"We have already spoken of an 'intellectual revolution' that is now going on. We use that word only to signify that the movement is not, so far, a religious one. But neither is it a distinctly irreligious or anti-religious one. We firmly believe that it is capable of becoming a religious movement if rightly guided and if the people are led to see that their best hopes can only be attained in Christ."²

The China National Conference held in 1913 by a Continuation Committee of the Edinburgh Conference made

1. W. E. Soothill, China and the West, London, 1925, p. 189.

2. China Centenary Missionary Conference Records, Shanghai, 1907, N.Y., 1907, p. 383.

this statement, which shows recognition of the great intellectual awakening,

"Owing to the changes following the establishment of the Republic in China and the attempt to bring about reform in every department, great stress is being made upon new literature--

"If the Christian Church does not take advantage of this exceptional opportunity and meet the demand for knowledge by a large production of books and periodicals making clear the Christian message, pernicious literature will obtain a hold, producing evil results, which later Christian efforts will have difficulty in eradicating."¹

Similar statements, impressive for their description of China's new mental condition, were made by Conferences at this same time (1912-1913) in Canton,² Shanghai,³ Tainanfu,⁴ Peking,⁵ Hankow,⁶ Moukden.⁷ This is sufficient evidence to show that over all China the Protestant missionaries' motive of this time included helping China to a broad and Christian intellectual life through bringing in literature in new fields.

Another condition arising out of the situation was the economic and industrial revolution. New commercial facilities and methods of the West brought with them certain

1. Findings of the Continuation Committee Conferences, held in Asia, 1912-1913, N.Y., 1913, p. 276.

2. Ibid. p. 267.

3. Ibid. p. 315.

4. Ibid. pp. 290 ff.

5. Ibid. pp. 272 ff.

6. Ibid. pp. 274 ff.

7. Ibid. pp. 278 ff.

evils which were likely to endanger China's moral, mental and physical welfare. A. E. Moule wrote in 1911, giving us a little touch of this change:

"They (the Chinese) come... now not in their old junks, passing helplessly through swarms of pirates,But in vessels which can outsteam the fastest piratical craft, by machinery and skill all learned from the innovating foreigner."¹

In this new situation was presented the opportunity for the missionary to see that the best of the economic side of the West should be presented as well as the worst.

Again, the questioning of the old religions as sufficient for the new China was leaving a wide open door for Christianity. Moule wrote,

"This worship (Chinese principles plus Buddhism)seems to the Chinese of the present day remotely ancient....Idols are being abolished.... by the exigencies of government education.... The idols are turned out of doors; nunneries are suppressed, and the multitudes of priests find their employment slipping from their hands, as the thoughtful and educated Chinese now despise and ridicule all but the ancient philosophy and ethics of this foreign creed."²

In an issue of the Missionary Herald of 1912 the breakdown of old religions and the need of some new strength is revealed when it is stated that in China there exists a growing sense of need of moral and religious sanctions to unite and make effective the new national life.³ Con-

1. A. E. Moule, Half A Century in China, N.Y., 1911, p. 6.

2. Ibid. p. 6-7.

3. Op. cit. Vol. CVIII (1912), p. 170.

Confucianism had ceased to be the official religion of the schools. It, with Buddhism and Taoism, had failed to meet the spiritual needs of the people. Chinese were questioning these and looking for some new help. The Missionary Centenary Conference, held in 1907, and the China Continuation Conferences of 1912-1913 show us that the Protestant Missionary was thoroughly impressed by this opening door. The China National Conference, of the latter group, makes this official statement,

"There come times in the history of nations when their need of the message of eternal life becomes manifestly urgent. It is such a time in China now, and in God's providence there is such an opportunity corresponding to the urgency of the need. A great door and effectual is opened in China.... Never have all classes been as accessible as they are now. Never have they been so ready to give a respectful hearing to the message. Never has there been such a significant inclination on the part of men in high position to look toward Christians for sympathy, the help and the inspiration which they feel that they and the people need in this period of change and reconstruction."¹

The whole flux of culture, new family life, release of the political system from Confucianism, and other factors formed the religious conditions which offered so large an opportunity.

There were accompanied by religious zeal in the West. This was typified by the Edinburgh World Missionary Conference

1. Findings of the Continuation Committee Conferences, held in Asia, 1912-1913, N.Y., 1913, p. 82.

of 1910, the largest of its kind. The church was relatively free from theological controversy. The momentum of the Great Religious Awakening was bearing its fruit. Especially was this true in the United States. Student Volunteer Conventions increased in size and took as their motto:

"The Evangelism of the World in This Generation."
No recent political struggle had marred the people's belief. Cooperation between denominations was increased and was typified in the organization of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, in 1908.¹

To cap the climax, the wealth of the West, and especially of Great Britain, was rapidly increasing. Trade was developing and giving means of support to the missionary enterprise.

And finally, the fact that the Chinese naturally turned to the West made the conditions even more favorable. English was the language of Western learning. The main higher educational institutions of Western education in China were conducted by English speaking Protestants. Institutions for training leaders in medicine, theology, and secular subjects were conducted by Protestants. The great interest of the Chinese in these

1. Williston Walker, A History of the Christian Church, N. Y., 1926, pp. 568-569.

fields made the Protestant opportunity almost unlimited.

The political, intellectual, economic and social revolution shown in the breaking down of opposition to the West, combined with the increase of wealth in the West, religious zeal in English speaking countries and the fact that the Protestants were best equipped to help in the crisis, affected the missionary motive. The fact that it did affect the motive may be judged by the statements of an individual missionary and of the entire body of protestants, Mateer said,

"As I look at the situation in the light of the past,... a more inviting field for the exercise of consecrated talent has rarely, if ever, presented itself.... The political forces and problems are better understood (by the Church people) than the moral and religious.... The Faith of the long old centuries is passing rapidly away, but what shall the new faith be?... The young men of China are made to learn English, because there is money in it. With English came books and newspapers, sowing the seeds of agnosticism, and skepticism, and rationalism, and so forth. The cry is, Who will champion the truth?... Who will testify for Christ? The call is urgent.... The changes of many years are now crowded into one. Young men, it is time to be up and doing."

The missionaries at the Edinburgh Conference in 1910 said,

"Never before has there been such a conjunction of crises and of opening of doors in all parts of the world as that which characterizes the present

1. Last recorded appeal of Mateer, Letter of Sept. 1, 1907, quoted in Daniel W. Fisher, Calvin Wilson Mateer, London, 1911, pp. 317-318.

time. It is likewise true that never before have conditions on the home field been so favorable."¹

If such were the conditions up to the time of the great war what were they during and after?

First among them was the war itself. The first result of this was the weakened condition of the West, financially and spiritually. Christianity, which we trusted much, had not prevented a war of wholesale slaughter. A period of self-examination set in which has not yet ceased. The young people of England, America, and Protestant Europe have been trying to find the flaws in their religion which permitted such a holocaust and still permits many social evils at home.

The political situation in China has been one of constant strife. On the opening of the world war, Japan, an ally of Great Britain, took the occasion to drive Germany out of China and secure the open door for her own commercial and industrial enterprises. On putting Germany to flight she proceeded to make demands of China which would guarantee her (Japan's) leadership in the affairs of the nation.² This tended to unite the sympathies

1. Report of commission on "Carrying the Gospel to all the non-Christian World," quoted in W. H. T. Gairdner, Edinburgh - 1910, Edinburgh, 1910, p. 68.

2. K. S. Latourette, Development of China, Boston, 1917, pp. 218ff.

of China and add to the growing sense of nationalism.

The question of entering the world war caused strife in China, but she finally threw her lot on the side of the allies.¹ The United States meanwhile made it clear to Japan that, although it was recognized that she, by her propinquity, should have certain rights in China, she must not intrude upon the sovereignty of that nation. China misunderstood these negotiations and thought the United States had abandoned her.² This was partly the cause of the change in attitude toward Americans.

Internal disorder continued in China with two large elements fighting for supremacy, the Kuomintang, or Nationalist Party in the South, embodying the democratic ideal, following the leadership of Sun Yat-Sen's principles, and the more conservative and militaristic party of the North. It was a battle between a number of war lords, and the scenes have changed so quickly that description is almost impossible, except to say that an early settlement does not seem likely.

China's love for the West was not increased when in spite of China's protests in 1919 at the Paris Conference Japan received as her share of war booty the German mines, railways, and leased territories in Shantung.

1. Ibid. pp. 232-233.

2. Ibid.

3. K. S. Latourette, Development of China, Boston, 1917, p. 237.

In 1920 at the Washington Conference the Western nations tried to settle differences between China and Japan and provide for China's future independence. But China wanted Japan to "clear out" and was not satisfied with compromise. Furthermore she desired the abolition of extra-territoriality. The fact that her internal government was crumbling made these things difficult. But the dislike for the foreigner increased.¹

The results of these political conditions may be summed up in China's recognition of her need for something new, her recognition by the Western Powers as a nation, her distrust of the West, altering the status of the foreigner, and the internal state of civil strife and chaos which exists to this day. This description is chaotic but in that respect is characteristic of the situation described.²

In addition to the political situation of the times there is a religious revolution which is a continuation of that begun before 1914, only increased in size and intensity. A similar revolution has also come in the West. Here men have begun to question their old beliefs. The scientific method has brought with it a new conception of the Bible and revelation, and the new philosophy, a

1. K. S. Latourette, Development of China, Boston, 1917, pp. 238-246.

2. Paul Monroe, China: A Nation in Evolution, N.Y., 1928, pp. 152 ff. give in fuller detail a brief account of the present political troubles.

changed set of religious values. Professor K. S. Latourette wrote in a recent issue of the Chinese Recorder that this questioning of former beliefs was one of the factors at home accounting for the transition in missions.¹ This lack of certainty in their own belief has made many wonder whether missions have anything left to contribute. It has brought the question of whether there should be a missionary enterprise at all. The question has loomed larger in the face of the denominational divisions of Christianity in the West. If Christianity has failed to settle denominational differences here should we dare take it to others?² This pessimism has been increased by our recognition that Western civilization is radically deficient. John L. Childs pointed this out in 1925 in The Life and although his statement on most points would not be accepted by the majority of Protestants we are led to believe that it would carry weight.³ Race and class distinction still exist in the West along with

1. Op. cit., Journal of the Christian Movement in China, Vol. LVIII (1927), p. 18.

2. Ibid. pp. 18-23.

3. John L. Childs, "Evolution of a Missionary's Thought", in The Life, Vol. V, #10, pp. 23-24.

all kinds of social evils. Reinhold Niebuhr, in speaking to an international gathering on missions in 1927-1928, said,

"We all have to admit that our western civilization is not Christian.... Western civilization is partly unChristian because it never wanted to be Christian Western Civilization cannot be called Christian first because of our nationalism.... Western civilization is arrogant and race proud.... In the third place, we are increasing the danger that Christianity shall become not only the religion of the lily white man, but of the middle classes of the lily whites. We make it something parochial and yet there is in it the eternal and the universal. The oriental knows that life consists not in the abundance of things that a man possesses. We have insisted that it does."¹

This is only a sample of the dissatisfaction of many westerners with their own civilization.

In addition, there has been a weakening motive in many missionaries because of an increased understanding of the Chinese and recognition of the values to be found in them.²

These elements, which will be described more fully under theology, have partly led to a decrease in giving, so that the work of most of the boards has been reduced. They have also been partly responsible for a larger de-

1. Reinhold Niebuhr "The Philosophy of Sharing", in Students and the Future of Christian Missions, Report, N.Y. 1928, pp. 150-151.

2. John L. Childs, "Evolution of a Missionary's Thought," The Life, Vol. V, #10, pp. 23-24.

crease in offering of life for missionary service.¹

In China there has been a religious revolution. They are questioning many things in the Christianity of the West. They are saying that we are really not Christian.

There is also a growing sense of Nationalism, which has expressed itself religiously in the organization of an indigenous church. The West has recognized the growth of Chinese leadership³ and the need for the freedom of the native church has been given by many as a reason for discontinuing missions.

In China there has likewise been a breakdown of ethical and social restraints along with the passing of ancestor worship, Confucianism, etc. The falling away from religion has expressed itself in an Anti-Religious Movement and especially has the feeling been strong against Christianity. The Anti-Christian Movement has claimed that Christianity is unscientific, capitalistic, and linked with western imperialism.²

1. K. S. Latourette, "Boards and Missionaries; Suggestions toward an Understanding." The Chinese Recorder, Vol. LVIII, pp. 18-23.

2. T. C. Chao, "Present-Day Religious Thought and Life in China," China To-day Through Chinese Eyes, 2nd series, London, 1926, pp. 33-49 gives full account of present religious conditions in China.

3. See Appendix B for rise in Chinese leadership.

And lastly the Chinese are impatient with western denominationalism.

A third major condition of the period is the Intellectual Revolution of China, or the New Tide.¹ This has accomplished the introduction of a new type of education, all types of literature, an increased emphasis on the vernacular language and a general revolution in Chinese thinking.

And finally is the Renaissance, a characteristic of the Chinese mind rather than a movement, a questioning of every thing and the measurement of all things by scientific and democratic standards.

These are the conditions which the missionary since 1914 has had to face and which have affected his motive -- a lack of assurance in his own religious belief, the seeming partial failure of Christianity in the West, revolution in China, international relations which have wrought in China distrust of the West, the feeling of need for some new power to hold the nation together, a religious revolution in the West questioning the Christian religion and urging the immediate recognition of Chinese leadership for her own church, a decrease in the offering of lives and money to missions, in China a widespread questioning of all re-

1. P.C. Hsu, "Intellectual Movements" China Today Through Chinese Eyes, 2nd. series, London, 1926, p.22.

ligion and a large Anti-Christian movement, the break down of old faiths and the search for some more satisfactory belief, and lastly, the Renaissance and intellectual revolution, seeking the new, examining all things with a critical eye, and making available to all classes a range of knowledge never known before in China.¹

It is true that many Christians fail to see in these a sufficient missionary motive but it is equally true that many others find in them an opportunity which never before has been presented in equal measure.

II. Theology.

Change is the dominant note of those who theorize about missions at the present time. Whether there is actually any real change one must judge for himself. H. C. King, President of Oberlin College, in speaking before the American Board in 1906, claimed that the transition in missionary philosophy was due to certain great growing convictions affecting the minds of men. These were;

1. In theology.
 - a. The Lordship of Christ, in the Bible and without.
 - b. The Fatherhood of God.
 - 1) Uncertainty of old type of hell.
 - 2) Moral need of sinner more emphasized than hell.

1. A Survey of the conditions in the year 1922 is given, which largely bears out the Chinese side of the conditions, in The Chinese Church as Revealed in the National Christian Conference Report, Shanghai, 1922, pp. 147-173.

2. In Science.

a. Universality of law. Effect on old concept of God and prayer.

b. Evolution.

1) Emphasis on ethical and spiritual rather than miraculous.

Other religions have a place in the development of the race. Normal religious development.

3. Psychology, Sociology, and Comparative Religion

a. Psychology - The Unity of man, the central importance of will and action.

Pre-eminence of the personal.

Training any where is training everywhere.¹

This gives in brief some of the influences affecting missionary thought, motive, and method. Let us examine the main elements arising in theology under these influences.

The first is a feeling that the motive of the missionary should be to share with the Chinese, his brothers, the best things of life, and that under this category of blessings the "Good News" comes first. Edward H. Hume describes this new philosophy of missions for us.

"The new day needs a new philosophy for missions, as for other activities of human life. If religion is a universal instinct, its origin in the human soul is the same in the Orient as in the Occident. The Occident needs to learn the lesson that the religious horizons of the human race are not broadened by dominance and assertiveness as much as by a dedication of men as brothers to a spiritual quest."²

1. H. C. King, "Changes in Missionary Practice," The Haystack Centennial, meeting of the American Board, 1906, Boston, 1907, pp. 170-172.

2. Edward H. Hume, "Facing the Future of the Missionary Movement," Preliminary Paper prepared for the Institute of Pacific Relations, 2nd session, Honolulu, 1927, p. 9.

He points out the four requirements fundamental in forming this new philosophy.

- "(1) We must have a new interpretation of Christianity and of its founder. Clearly neither Western nor Eastern peoples are likely to be interested much longer in Christian dogma, or even in medical and educational work, important though these philanthropic activities may be. The Orient is asking today for a frank statement about and an honest interpretation of the person, the teaching and the spirit of Jesus.
- (2) We must seek a new understanding of the spiritual values in Oriental religions.....There is an honest search for Eternal Truth....The founder of the Christian religion must have had this in his consciousness when he said; 'I came not to destroy but to fulfill.'
- (3) We must secure as representatives of Christianity in the Orient, men who have accepted the new conception of Christianity, who are willing to seek a new understanding of the Oriental religions and who seek to bring the two into harmony.... They must share consciously with their Oriental brothers in a cooperative search for Eternal truth.
- (4) There must be messengers from the Orient who bring a religious message to the West.... They must be men who will enlarge and enrich our conceptions of Christianity."

Men were to be brothers seeking together those things which would fulfill their deeper needs. Robert E. Speer feared that this idea might be carried so far that the Christian would throw overboard that element of truth he had already found. He warns us that sharing means giving the best we have.

1. Edward H. Hume, "Facing the Future of the Missionary Movement," Preliminary Paper prepared for the Institute of Pacific Relations, 2nd. session, Honolulu, 1927, pp. 7-8.

"It is said that the old idea of missions as the effort to impart a knowledge of Christianity and to serve and help others, sharing with them whatever we have, must be laid aside in favor of a different idea, namely, that East and West must cooperate in a common search for truth and interchange of culture, and that the office of the missionary is one of the international and inter-racial understanding rather than of the conversion of individuals from one religion to another, and that in consequence missionaries and the whole missionary enterprise must get rid of their "superiority complex" and conceive themselves not as givers, but as partners of others who are equally able to give and from whom the West needs to receive. Insofar as this new view finds out and rebukes any arrogant spirit of the missionary movement or invokes us to humanity...or reminds us of the limitations of our own understandings, and of our duty to conceive humanity as one body, we shall be thankful to it, even though as yet its own errors are precisely those of the arrogant spirit....and of emphasis upon division....

"What is needed is that everywhere in all lands man should be kept free from what is evil and bad and that human good should be built by God's help through Christ and His Gospel."¹

Whether this is a narrow type of sharing one must determine for himself. It does hold that man can begin in his search with what truth he has already found. H.C. King seems to have a little more hope for the contribution to be made by other nations.

"What is the great missionary motive? It certainly does not lie in the mere thought of hell, however keen one's perception of the certainty of retribution; nor in the thought of the command even of

1. R. E. Speer, "Are Old Mission Conceptions Valid," Report on Japan and China, by Survey Deputation of Presbyterian Church of U.S.A., N.Y., 1927, p. 442.

Christ regarded as eternal, however high the Lordship ascribed to him, nor yet in the thought of a prescribed task of witnessing as a formal condition to be fulfilled for the coming of the Lord, however clear ones expectation of that may be....the motive does not lie in a supercilious attitude taken toward other peoples and their values and ideals; nor in the denial of their present and later possible contribution to the understanding and interpretation of Christianity. We must recognize....that these other peoples must have their own opportunity for practical and theoretical interpretation of Christianity, and that they have their own large contribution to make to the world's understanding of its greatest faith. It is quite possible that the Indian or Japanese interpretation of Christianity may have as large a contribution as the American or the German."

Here we find a feeling that Christianity is God's gift to the world, not to any one race or nation, and that each people must contribute its interpretation of this message to the total mass of truth. In this way each nation would be the mission field, each one the home field. What this contribution to both home and foreign fields would be few have attempted to say. Cleland Boyd MacAfee, however, has listed contributions which he thinks the mission enterprise can make in both places.

1. Contribution to mission lands.
 - a. A new evaluation of existing religions.
 - b. Social benefits.
 - c. A new outlook on life, the Christian outlook.
 - 1) The worth of personality.
 - 2) The law of love as the way of life.
 - 3) Joy instead of pessimism.

1. H. C. King, "Changes in Missionary Practice," The Haystack Centennial, meeting of the American Board 1906, Boston, 1907, p. 173.

2. Contribution at home.

- a. Constant reassurance of the Christian faith. It is postulated on the finality and practicability of that faith for all men.
- b. Missionary enterprise is the fullest and richest expression of the Christian faith. It is the best test of the obedience of the believers.
- c. It keeps the faith broad visioned and alive to the unity and equality of humanity.
- d. It challenges to Christian unity at home.¹

Some would question whether the assumption of the finality of the Christian religion, claimed by McAftee, really permits sharing, and if obedience to one religion is the highest test in sharing. Of course this all depends on the conception of religion, which we shall go into a little later.

Finally, Dr. Daniel J. Fleming, in what has probably proved in the United States the most widely read and influential recent book on missionary theory, has held that Christianity demands the process of sharing through missions.

He says,

"Until needs cease and as long as individuals and peoples develop characteristic gifts the spirit of missions will have a place."²

The idea of sharing here arises out of individual and racial differences and the value of pooling these different experiences. The idea of sharing, mutually, thus enters in.

1. Cleland Boyd McAfee, Chanching Foreign Missions, N. Y., 1927, pp. 264-288.

2. Daniel Johnson Fleming, Whither Bound in Missions, N. Y., 1935, pp. 40-41.

"Both overseas and on furlough many a missionary thinks of his task as being that of an interpreter."¹

Fleming goes on to tell us what he means by this mutuality.

"Mutuality -- that attitude of mind in which passionate affection for, and devotion to, the values associated with ones own group are combined with a sympathetic receptivity to values in each other group."²

Here we see that sharing is based on the existence of values in each group along with certain unmet needs. This would seem to question the finality of the religion practised by any one group, expressed by McAfee; but at the same time would not prohibit the recognition of one group as having more truth or a more effective religion to share than another.

This leads us to the second element in the theology of many of the missionaries of the period, the recognition of value in foreign religions, without which sharing would be one sided. In this respect it is only a part of the philosophy of mutuality. We mean by this that whereas before the missionary looked for the weaknesses in foreign religions now he seeks the strong points. H.C. King said in 1906,

"The new attitude is to seek every point of contact with native religions, not every point of difference."³

1. Ibid.

2. Daniel Johnson Fleming, Whither Bound in Missions, N.Y., 1925, p. 42.

3. H.C. King, "Changes in Missionary Practice," The Haystack Centennial, meeting of the American Board 1906, Boston, 1907, pp. 175-176.

In a preliminary paper, for the recent Jerusalem Conference on the "Religious Values of Confucianism" this statement made by James Legge and quoted by John C. DeKorne in Chinese Altars to the Unknown God is included,

"What can we do but unfold to them (the Chinese) with prayers and pains, what truth there is in Confucianism about God and His moral government, and about themselves, leading them on to the deeper, richer truth about the same subject in Christianity."¹

James Legge in this way planted the seed in the middle of the nineteenth century which was to grow and bear fruit in the missionary movement in 1928.

Daniel J. Fleming points out that in approaching other religions with this new attitude we have changed from the old narrow conception of revelation.

"God's truth has not been wholly given to any one people. The way of Christ is to approach non-Christian faiths appreciatively."²

"The assumption³ that truth is progressively revealed to man,"

changed our attitude to one of open mindedness. It "grows out of reverence for individuality".⁴ This seems to be a far development from the time when missionaries saw little

1. James Legge, quoted by John C. DeKorne in Chinese Altars to the Unknown God, quoted in D. Willard Lyon (editor), Religious Values of Confucianism, a preliminary draft for the Jerusalem meeting of the International Missionary Council, Jerusalem, 1927, N. Y., 1927, p. 34.

2. Daniel Johnson Fleming, Whither Bound in Missions, N. Y., 1925, pp. 85-86.

3. Ibid., p. 107.

4. Ibid., p. 109.

value in a high civilization merely because it had not heard of the name "Christ".

Prof. Hocking has also testified that the missionary motive justifiable in our modern religious and philosophic conceptions is not one of displacement of other religions, but inclusion.¹

The commission on the Missionary Message, of the Edinburgh Conference, 1910, makes this report,

"all the writers agree in saying that the missionary.... should frankly and gladly acknowledge whatever he finds in native faiths that is good and true. Christianity should not be presented as a sword that must sever the people from their historic past but as the flower and fulfillment of it."²

Probably the most far reaching theory of recognition of value is given by John L. Childs, a recent missionary to China. It cannot be taken as the view of a large number but its trend shows the attitude of some. He claims that one of the views of which Christian missions must divest itself, in view of the change of traditional view of Chinese culture, is that in Christianity we have the final and complete revelation of moral and spiritual truth and that it therefore has the right to be the exclusive religion of the world.³ He goes on to say that from the appreciative

1. Dr. E. Hocking, "Religion of the Future", Religion and Modern Life, Charles Scribner's Sons, N.Y., 1927, p. 366.

2. Report of Commission IV, The Missionary Message, in Relation to non-Christian Religions, World Missionary Conference, 1910, Edinburgh, 1910, p. 52. The latter sentence is quoted therefrom by Rev. Paul D. Bergen.

3. John L. Childs, "The Evolution of a Missionary's Thought," in The Life, Vol. V. (1925) #10, Peking, p. 13.

standpoint we must recognize that heathen lands are producing some of the greatest spiritual movements of our day, while recent Biblical scholarship has demonstrated that Jesus is not as unique as we had supposed, that the Christian view of God is foreign to Jesus, that the ethics of the Bible must be supplemented by ethical thinking today, and that analysis refutes the old idea that fellowship in prayer reveals the ultimate meaning of all things.¹ But still recognizing much value in Christianity he says,

"I do not want to see the youth of China and the East miss these values.... Similarly I do not want us of the West, because of devotion to the values that we already possess, to miss the values which the East undoubtedly has to contribute to us if we are open to receive them."²

We find in these statements the recognition of value in many degrees, from the view of Childs that Christianity has little more, if any, to offer than foreign religions, to that of Speer, that sharing must be largely onesided, and that regardless of the value we do find in other religions, Christianity is the ultimate fulfillment of these. The important point is, however, the willingness of most missionaries to recognize as revelation of God, truth found anywhere.

1. Ibid. pp. 23-24.

2. Ibid. p. 33.

Another factor which has increased the belief that Christian missions must proceed on the basis of sharing is the seeming failure of Christianity to transform the life of the so-called Christian nations in the West. This has brought the Western nations more nearly on a level with the Orient, faults and values being recognized in each. John Childs takes this position in the extreme when he says that one of his former views, now changed, was that world brotherhood represented in Western civilization was the best yet. He believed that little good was to come from other cultures and that the Christian West was far superior.¹ But now he admits that there is a real question as to whether Christendom's corporate life is really superior spiritually and morally.² Consequently he says that missions, because of the change of traditional view of Chinese culture, must divest itself of the sense of racial superiority of the white man and of the attitude that Western civilization is the future world civilization.³

Mordecai Johnson, prominent worker of the Negro race, has also expressed this belief that America is unchristian,

1. John L. Childs, "The Evolution of a Missionary's Thought," in The Life, Vol. V, #10 (1925), Peking, pp. 1-6.

2. Ibid, p. 10.

3. " p. 13.

though he has not gone so far as to say that Christianity has no more than other religions to offer in the solution of man's problems. In speaking on "Shall we send Missionaries from non-Christian America", he explains that,

"When it is said America is unChristian, it is meant that the total complex of the deeds of this nation in reality expresses a spirit which is not the spirit of Christ....that the total complex of the deeds of the American people is contrary to the obvious spirit of Jesus of Nazareth, of the spirit of Christ....Reflection will reveal to us that the Christians themselves participate in these deeds. It is a mistake to suppose that the missionary enterprise is the expression of a Christian America, while the economic and political enterprise is the expression of non-Christian America....The church in America, therefore, is like a soul without an adequate body."¹

We must confess that such a realization of the West's weaknesses has not only induced many missionaries to go to the Orient on a basis of sharing but for some it has meant that the missionary motive is gone.

Another element which has entered partially to change the motive to one of sharing is the rise of Chinese leadership within the Christian Church. Many native Christians are highly educated and scholarly men and they hold that Christianity must adapt itself to Chinese problems and civilization. This has tended to make for the replacement

1. Mordecai Johnson, "Shall we send Missionaries from non-Christian America," Students and the Future of Christian Missions, Report of Student Volunteer Convention, 1927-1928, N.Y., 1928, pp. 94-96.

of a missionary method of dictation and propaganda by one of sharing. When missionaries work under Chinese leaders they must go to share and even to serve.

We have spent much time in discussing sharing. But we would offer a different kind of sharing as the view of some, namely, sharing is a search for new truth, learning together. This view is based on the assumption that, as yet, we do not have a final revelation of the final religion. It is far different from the old theology that held the Bible to be the final revelation of God. We have two examples to offer, one which would bring this search within Christianity, and one which would admit that it might take us beyond Christianity. Cleland Boyd McAfee represents the former when he says,

"He (Christ) accepts followers who are eager to learn more fully who he is as well as those who think already they know about him."¹

John Childs represents the more extreme view when he says that past missions have been propagandas because Christians have held Christianity to be the future exclusive religion. He claims that this nature still exists in purely religious work, and that our theory must be reformed so as to merge the good of both religions in a more inclusive idea which can contain the good of both.² He says, more definitely,

1. Cleland Boyd McAfee, Changing Foreign Missions, N.Y., 1926, p.220.

2. John L. Childs, "The Evolution of a Missionary's thought," in The Life, Vol. V, (1925) #10, Peking, p.14.

that in addition to the motive of genuine appreciation on the part of missionaries, willingness to learn as well as to share, there must be active cooperation in the discovery of new values. The new world has new problems and a new revaluation is possible only by uniting mankind, and this demands creative work on the part of both home and foreign field.¹ Childs hopes that,

"some day the missionary movement may indeed become the indispensable factor in developing the attitudes and the social machinery which are so critically needed if conference and constructive cooperation are to replace superstition, antagonism and division between the peoples of the world."²

The value of the individual has been increasingly impressing itself upon the modern mind and has played a large part in the transition of mission motive, as may be shown by statements of some of the leading mission scholars of the day. It is this tendency in religion, centering it around the need of man rather than man's servitude to God, that has caused a revaluation of religion from the viewpoint of its value for man. McAfee says that at this point the missionary enterprise remains as it has been, the recognition of the essential value

1. Ibid. pp. 35-36.

2. Ibid. p. 36.

of humanity being unchanged. The conception of the supreme value of human personality and of the worth of each individual in the sight of God still remains valid. Along with this value he says we still recognize that the fundamental need of humanity is the same. Expressed in religious terms, it is "sin", bringing breaks between man and God, and man and man, which are noticeable over the whole world. It was to provide for this that the Christian religion began its work.¹

Childs has brought forth this same recognition of the value of humanity as a motive for recognizing value in other faiths and taking contribution from them. He says,

"The attitudes of love, respect for personality, the patient search for truth, are, to be sure, of eternal value, but can we claim in view of our wider knowledge of the ethical and spiritual history of mankind that these are exclusively Christian virtues? Are they not in truth the common possessions and achievements of the peoples of many races? In the future must we not say that above all our creeds, all our theologies, all our nations, all our smaller loyalties, is humanity; that the final sanction of life is life itself? Must we not proclaim that it is only as Christianity identifies itself with, yes, is willing to lose itself, if need be, in this increasing human experience that it can justify its world program? The future usefulness of missionary effort will be determined, in my opinion, by the degree to which we are willing to make this adventure in faith."²

1. Cleland Boyd McAfee, Changing Foreign Missions, N.Y., 1927, pp. 234-259.

2. John L. Childs, "The Evolution of a Missionary's Thought," in The Life, Vol.V. (1925), #10, Peking, p.37.

We see that the same belief in the value of the human personality as the end of missions has motivated men in two differing camps of missionary technique.

In the theology of the missionaries of the period an outstanding belief is that men need some moral dynamic to help them meet the problem and exigencies of the complex conditions of the present time. Especially is this true in China where conditions are in such a flux. This feeling of need was expressed on the part of the Chinese and missionaries at the Edinburgh Conference in 1910, that what China needed then, beyond all else, was moral power. The one force sufficient for the disaster of the times, growing out of the contact with Western Commerce, science, industry, etc., was conceived to be the power of Jesus Christ. The Christian church could alone meet the emergency, because it had the needed spiritual force.¹ This motive of missions, to bring a moral dynamic, was reemphasized at the National Christian Conference in 1922.

"Now what is the Gospel the people of China need to meet the demands of the time? The answer is the Christian Gospel which offers hope to men, a religion which comforts men's hearts by releasing them from the bondage of evil, a religion to increase men's ability to reform, a religion which

1. Report of Commission IV, The Missionary Message in Relation to non-Christian Religions, World Missionary Conference, Edinburgh, 1910, N.Y., 1910, pp. 228-229.

bestows life upon men. Such is the religion of Jesus Christ....Christian experience is not following the crowd, waving flags, and hurrahing, but is a real experience of the individual life. .. We must first reform ourselves."¹

J. P. MacLagan expresses this same missionary motive in an article in The International Review of Missions, April, 1924.

"The Christian scholar can supply to ethical teaching that religious sanction which present day Confucianism lacks."²

T. C. Chao puts it,

"What we really need is a thorough understanding of the teachings of Jesus, and a direct experience of Christ, through a living of His kind of life. The Christian message is clearly far above what Confucius can offer and what his followers can give. Mankind wants God."³

Robert E. Speer, missionary statesman, thinks that in this field of spiritual and moral dynamic the future missionary will find his place, rather than in some technical job. He says,

"I believethat he will be less of an organizer and administrator, less of a technical instructor and director, more of a seer and spiritual teacher, more of a radiant saint, a revealer of true values.

1. C. Y. Cheng, Chairman, reporting for commission on "Message of the Church", The Chinese Church as Revealed in the National Christian Conference, held in Shanghai, 1922, Shanghai, pp. 519-520.

2. Quoted in D. Willard Lyon (editor), "Religious Values of Confucianism", N.Y., 1927, p.34.

3. Letter dated September 4, 1927, Quoted in "Religious Values of Confucianism", Preliminary draft for the Jerusalem Meeting of the International Missionary Council, Jerusalem, 1928, N.Y., 1927, pp.34-35.

... We would benefit by thinking of the missionary's function in terms of a spiritual or religious contribution."¹

Charles Fairclough, a missionary in China, writes that he believes the only sign of conversion is a sense of this power in one's life.

"One of the signs of the times is the number of people we meet in our itineration who claim intellectual convictions of the truth of the Gospel. Alas! for the most part, this knowledge is not based on any real experience of the work of God in their souls. Such a profession of belief lacks genuine faith and consequently an unwillingness to take the reproach of Christ upon them."²

A. K. Peischauer, in writing a preliminary statement for the Jerusalem Conference, stated that the Christian message must include some dynamic in addition to mere scientific teachings.

"It should be clear that if the Christian message is merely the message of modern science, Christianity will become less and less essential, since the latter can now carry on fairly well without the help of organized Christianity.... Christianity cannot help... unless its modern representatives become a little more certain about God, the heavenly Father, and about Jesus Christ, in whose fellowship the Father becomes tremendously real and through whom man gains strength to live the free life of the spirit and is not the mere slave of his own creations in the externals of life."³

1. Report on Japan and China, Survey by Deputation of Presbyterian Church of U. S. A., N. Y., 1927, p. 441.
2. Charles Fairclough, "The Word of God is Quick and Powerful," in China's Millions, Dec. 1926, London, p. 192.
3. A. K. Peischauer, "Christianity and Northern Buddhism," Preliminary Draft for the Jerusalem Meeting of the International Missionary Council, N. Y., 1927, pp. 36-37.

Cleland Boyd McAfee says that this desire to give a moral dynamic has always been and continues to be the motive of Protestant missions. He says that the power of the Gospel of Christ is unchanged. It deals with human hearts as it has long been doing and those hearts respond still, as they have long done. Furthermore, he claims that the ability of Christian believers under God has not changed.¹ That men continue to be motivated in Christian missions by the desire to bring to man this moral and spiritual dynamic is clear from these statements.

Let us turn to another modern conception which has large implications for the missionary, the unitary view of life and man. In this is involved a broader conception of religion. It is no longer a compartment of one's nature but a part of every act, thought, and feeling. It is expressed in man's every word and deed. It includes also the idea of the unity of society, the place of man in his environment, and the realization of the necessity of transforming environment if the individual is to be transformed. These views are the result of modern psychology and sociology. William E. Strong says,

1. Cleland Boyd McAfee, Changing Foreign Missions, N.Y., 1927, pp. 234-259.

"The new science and philosophy which had begun to shape modern thought in all other fields of interest inevitably affected missionary motives and aims as well. The importance of man's environment, the unity of his nature, in which body and spirit are combined, the influence of racial and geographical elements as affecting character and habit, these and others greatly broadened the conception of missions.... 'from a kind of slum work among sunken, degraded, and altogether degenerate races, there is now an appreciation of the value of these belated nations and of the necessity of seeking to redeem them in order really to save the people within them. The task is recognized still as primarily working for individuals, but now they are thought of and addressed as representatives of the race with whose life and fortunes they are bound, and in the regeneration of whose society and the Christianizing of whose national life they are to be factors."¹

Childs claims that this idea of religion explains to us that religion and prayer give no new insights independent of previous experience, that such insight is the product of social and cultural conditions; and that this new idea means that religion runs through all social relations. It is not an adjunct. Ethics, under this system, grows out of each situation and is not "revealed" in the old sense of revelation.² Such a Christianity, then, must transform

1. William E. Strong, The Story of the American Board, N.Y., 1910, pp. 334-335.

2. John L. Childs, "The Evolution of a Missionary's Thought," in The Life, Vol. V, (1925), #10, Peking, p. 20-22.

and save community, national, and industrial life, must save man in all his relations, and the community as well as the individual. This conception of the message of the church was held by those meeting in the National Christian Conference of China in 1922. It emphasized the need for social regeneration (based on the belief that sin is a social problem), regeneration of home, of economic conditions, of political standards, of education, of industrial and commercial life, in thought and practice through the spiritualizing power of Christ. Men must bring God's Will and Kingdom on earth as in heaven. Furthermore, they especially emphasized the need to Christianize the rapidly developing national consciousness, bringing about international brotherhood.¹

J. B. Webster says,

"The task of the Kingdom, this is the establishment of a perfect social order."

The China Centenary Missionary Conference of 1907 evidenced its view of the need of a broad Gospel when it asserted that the mind of China, as well as the heart,

1. T. T. Llew, Report of Commission on the "Message of the Church", The Chinese Church as Revealed in the National Christian Conference held in Shanghai, 1922, Shanghai, pp. 500-502.

2. James B. Webster, Christian Education and the National Consciousness in China, N. Y., 1923, pp. 14 ff.

needed converting.¹

Finally, Daniel J. Fleming has joined his voice to the almost unanimous view that Christian missions must be broad enough to affect the universal brotherhood of the children of God, world wide cooperation in common constructive tasks, and at the same time stand for personal purity, for honesty, for love of strangers, the uncongenial, and those in need. Furthermore, it must be large enough to include the dissemination of Christian world knowledge through every agency.²

Such a view of the unitary nature of society and of man and of man's inescapable connection with his entire environment led the missionary to include in his motive a broader social gospel than before.

In addition to the ideas of sharing, cooperative seeking, and the unitary view of life, we find a fourth main trend in modern missions, to center all around Christ. This is one of the few points on which most missionaries and

1. Memorial to the Home Churches, China Centenary Missionary Conference Records, at Shanghai, 1907, N.Y., pp. 382-383.

2. Daniel Johnson Fleming, Whither Bound in Missions, N.Y., 1925, pp. 196-201.

Chinese Christians seem to be agreed. It is Christ, bereft of divisive doctrine, creed, and denominationalism who is the missionary's message. Fleming says,

"A distinction can be made between Christianity as we practice it and Christ. It is not primarily our religious system in the sense of our practice in worship and our body of doctrines that we can confidently hold high as the preeminent standard for all men. It is not success for our "faith" that we most want. Rather it is that men shall increasingly learn to live in the spirit, with the purposes and by the methods of Jesus Christ."¹

He says further,

"In the character of God who through Christ we have come to see is Himself constantly seeking man's good, we find our greatest urge to unselfish service. Ministering rather than being ministered unto becomes a normal and essential part of the Christian life."²

Also,

"All religions do not have the same ethics and the same metaphysics.... We believe that Jesus Christ gave us the ethical norm for social living and Christians have the confidence that science will show that He was right.

.....
Jesus Christ is the interpreter of the final fact of the universe, the One through whom the sacredness and value of human life is shown, the Lord of life, and in actual fact man's Savior from sin."³

Childs, as usual, is in the group that challenges this conception of such a perfect Christ. Modern scholars

1. Daniel Johnson Fleming, Whither Bound in Missions, N.Y., 1925, p. 91.

2. Ibid. p. 222.

3. Ibid. pp. 115-117.

ship, he says, leads us to doubt the existence of so great a contrast between Jesus and the best Hebrew traditions, that Jesus held a view of God very similar to our own, and that he was infallible. He does admit that Christ was the greatest human leader the race has had. If we appropriate new meaning into our religion in this way, he asks, why can we not permit others the same right with theirs?¹

Robert E. Speer is another who gives us the opinion that the missionary message must center around Christ.

"The true view (of missions), in our understanding, is the primitive and historical view. We believe that Christ came as the Universal Saviour. He was born in Asia and the Bible which tells His story was written entirely by Asiatics, but He and the Bible are universal.... The missionary enterprise is the effort to make Christ known everywhere,....to all the world."²

H. C. King at the Haystack Centennial meeting in 1906, said,

"The final missionary motive is, thus, simply the good news -- the conviction that the source of our own best and highest life is in Christ."³

1. John L. Childs, "Evolution of A Missionary's Thought," in The Life, Vol. V, (1925) #10, Peking, pp. 14-16. We call attention to the fact that a large school of scholarly theologians question the historical basis of the apocalyptic view held by Childs.

2. Report on Japan and China, by Survey Deputation of Presbyterian Church of U.S.A., N.Y., 1927, p. 443.

3. H. C. King, "Changes in Missionary Practice," The Haystack Centennial, meeting of the American Board, 1906, Boston, 1907, p. 175.

Bishop Herbert Welch writes in the Christian Advocate,
the organ of the Methodist Episcopal Church,

"Our motive is to carry the message of Christ
as the unique Savior,"¹

to make him known in His broad humanity, His unbounded
kindness, His understanding, His compassionate and
self sacrificing love, His divine power, to help all men
to see the King in His beauty. This is still an adequate
motive for Christian missions.² This is different,
Bishop Welch explains, from going with a superior feeling,
as we did in earlier years, as white people favored with
intellectual, artistic and social gifts by the same Christ
who brought light down to destroy all false faiths.³

As final evidence on this point we quote the
Records of the National Christian Conference of China, 1922,

"This part of the message is essentially an evan-
gelistic appeal to the non-Christians in China.

1. Bishop Herbert Welch, "Is There Any Adequate Motive
for Foreign Missions Today?" The Christian Advocate, Dec-
ember, 1927, pp. 147, ff.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

Its central note is Christ....This, in the judgment of the commission, is what China needs most at the present hour. It is our firm conviction that Christ, and Christ alone, can meet the deepest spiritual needs of the people in China...."¹

The statement is made even more emphatic,

"Listen! People of China! What China needs is really Jesus Christ! With Him all her problems can be solved. Without him all other methods are plans of secondary value, for they do not touch the root trouble. The purpose of the message is to introduce Jesus Christ to the people of China and to exalt Him and Him alone.

.....
We do not mean that China needs all the forms, customs, and rites of Western churches, nor even that she needs to accept all that these churches teach....What we mean,...is that it is our firm conviction that Christ is able to meet China's deepest need."²

Let us point out one feature in this central place of Christ, because of its contrast with the old motive of fear. This is the love of Christ. H. C. King says that the motive has always been to carry the message of the love of Christ, only formerly to heathen in danger of eternal punishment. He says this emphasis on hell was only a temporary expression for that greater motive which lay behind it, love for Christ and the sense of his love for men.³

1. C. Y. Cheng, Chairman, Report of Commission III, The Message of the Church, The Chinese Church as Revealed in the National Christian Conference, Shanghai, 1922, Shanghai, p. 497.

2. Ibid. pp. 510-511.

3. H. C. King, "Changes in Missionary Practice," The Haystack Centennial, Meeting of the American Board, 1906, Boston, 1907, pp. 163-164.

We can be fairly certain in that love taught by fear is not as loving as love taught by love. In this respect we say that the emphasis of the love of Christ is greater today and is the central factor in the conception of Christ around which the modern missionary message is built.

The China Section of the "Missionary Message"

Commission of the Edinburgh Conference reported that the loving, sacrificing Christ was the impressive feature of the Christian Gospel. The manifestation of the spirit of love seemed to be the greatest appeal of the gospel to the Chinese.¹

The conclusion drawn from most of these statements might be that the greater part of the Protestant missionary body was thoroughly liberalized. It must not be deduced, however, that all conservatism was gone, for some still failed to recognize much value in the religious expressions of other civilisations, and clung fairly closely to doctrine and creedal conservatism. Marshall Broomhall in 1915 still viewed Christianity as antagonistic to other faiths, which he termed the powers of darkness.

"We recognize the spiritual powers of Good and Evil striving for the mastery, and it is the duty of all who are named by the name of Christ to seek by prayer and the manifestation of the spirit of

1. Report of Commission IV, The Missionary Message, in Relation to non-Christian Religions, World Missionary Conference, 1910, Edinburgh, 1910, pp. 59-61.

their Master, to defeat the powers of darkness, which are seeking to hinder the spread of the Gospel..."¹

We also find in the Edinburgh Convention the feeling that Christianity, after all, is the only salvation.²

The emphasis on doctrine is still found. The Southern Methodist Church in 1927 withdrew a teacher from its Chinese University because of his refusal to believe in and teach the physical resurrection.³ Thus we still find a divided opinion on theology and mission philosophy.

A noticeable element of this period is the scarcity of the old type of missionary call. This may grow out of the changed conception of revelation. We do find, however, the appeal to carry out the command of Christ, and the sense of great need in the face of vast unreached portions of China.

"It is a startling and solemnizing fact that even as late as the 20th century the Great Command of Jesus to Carry the Gospel to all mankind is still so largely unfulfilled."⁴

1. Marshall Broomhall, Jubilee Story of The China Inland Mission, Philadelphia, 1915, pp. 352-353.

2. Rev. G. Heber Jones of American Methodist Episcopal Church, in Report of Commission IV, The Missionary Message, in relation to non-Christian Religion, World Missionary Conference, 1910, N.Y. p. 304.

3. Proceedings of Special Committee of Board of Missions, M. E. Church, So., Aug. 5, 1927, Nashville, Tenn., pp. 1, 2 and Exhibit F.

4. Report of Commission on "Carrying the Gospel to all the Non-Christian World", W. H. T. Gairdner, Edinburgh - 1910, Edinburgh, 1910., p. 68.

Robert E. Speer appeals for workers for unreached regions:

"In China the unreached people and villages are innumerable...There are also unreached classes. Practically nothing is being done today for between one and two million soldiers."¹

T. Z. Koo says,

"Religious work among students in government schools is practically non-existent. If it is the business of the missionary enterprise to see that the Gospel is preached to every creature then the work....in China.... is only well begun."²

To sum up the theological condition of the period, we find a new science and philosophy leading men to various views on missions. A large group supports what may be called the philosophy of sharing, based on recognition of truth and value, in all degrees, in Chinese religions, questioning the actual Christianity of the West, and recognizing the capability of many Chinese Christian leaders. Another group advocates cooperatively seeking new truth with all peoples or religions, reevaluating all religion on the basis of the supreme value of humanity and the individual, and realizing the need for some adequate moral and spiritual dynamic for man in the present complexity of Chinese and world civilization. The unitary view of the individual

1. Report on Japan and China, by Survey Deputation of Presbyterian Church of U.S.A., N.Y., 1927, pp. 440 ff.

2. Ibid. pp. 440-441.

and of society has made it the motive of the missionary to transform every side of man's nature, and has brought increased emphasis on the social gospel. Fourth, Christ is recognized as the essential of the missionary movement, bereft of superfluous creeds, doctrines, and forms. The love of Christ is at the center of the Christian missionary philosophy. Finally, we find scarcity of the old type of call, men finding their impulse to serve in a recognition of need, and in the desire to share. But some still emphasize the divine command; and an emphasis on doctrine and creed may still be found.

III. Motive

To Better Contact Between Orient and Occident, and assure that the contribution of the West will be beneficial rather than harmful.

Enough has been said about the questioning of the Christianity of the West and the concept of the unity of mankind and human nature to cover this subject. Therefore, we shall deem one or two citations sufficient to show the attitude directly on this subject. H. C. King brought out, in 1907, that

"We cannot avoid influencing these other peoples if we would. The whole machinery of government even, is behind our commercial advances, even when this commerce is of things that bring harm rather than good. We are giving our worst. We owe doubly our best."¹

1. H. C. King, "Changes in Missionary Practice," The Haystack Centennial, meeting of the American Board, 1906, Boston, 1907, p. 173.

Thus it is pointed out that the real need for missions is our moral need of sharing our best as well as our worst.¹

Childs says that the very unChristian nature of our commerce makes missionaries necessary and that

"China could get along with fewer missionaries if there were more of plain justice granted them by their economically and politically more powerful neighbors."²

This is an expansion of the idea of sharing the advantages of western civilization which was held by former missionaries. The motivation of missions consequently comes partly from the desire to share with China the assets of the West, as well as the liabilities. If we give her the problems of the industrial, economic, and intellectual part of our civilization we must supply her with the spiritual and moral requisites with which she can make these work for good, rather than for destruction.

IV. Methods

The methods used in the last 30 years have become gradually more social, characteristic of the growing humanitarian philosophy. Whereas, missionaries formerly interpreted their task in horizontal or geographic terms, they are also interpreting it in perpendicular terms.

1. H. O. King, "Changes in Missionary Practice," The Haystack Centennial, meeting of the American Board, 1906, Boston, 1907, p. 174.

2. John L. Childs, "The Evolution of a Missionary's Thought," The Life, Vol. V, (1925), #10, Peking, p. 9.

" It involves not merely geographical expansion, but the Christian permeation of all phases of life....The modern missionary ideal is that His spirit shall permeate the whole of life-- individual and social, national and international."¹

Cleland Boyd McAfee puts it that the growing group in missions are those to whom is uppermost the idea of sharing with others the best we have, not thinking primarily of the non-Christian world as "lost", though many stand in awe of that assurance, but becoming increasingly convinced that the world is miserably lost now, whatever may be eternally true of individuals in it.² Those at the China Centenary Conference in 1907 seemed to have felt the same urgent need for immediate remedies. They said,

"The end (of missions)....is not merely the future salvation of either particular races or individual souls, but the proclamation of a present and adequate antidote for the darkness in which the sin and suffering and ignorance of man at present enshrouds the world. Our work appears in its true grandeur when 'our redemption' is seen making provision for the present transfiguration of the whole order in which we live....of all human society and of all human relationships."²

Hence, the methods were those which arose out of the desire to do good to all men as the opportunity came, so that every form or type of service which ministers to man's well-being

1. Daniel Johnson Fleming, Whither Bound in Missions, N.Y., 1925, pp. 119-120.

2. Cleland Boyd McAfee, Changing Foreign Missions, N.Y., 1927, pp. 260-266.

has been included¹ evangelistic, literary, educational, medical, social and economic. To show the complexity of the means used let us name the methods of evangelism listed as missionary work in the records of the National Christian Conference, 1922. They were,

1. Boys work, example-- the four fold program of the Y.M.C.A. reaching 10,000 adolescents with a program of intellectual, physical, social and spiritual training.
2. Evangelistic publicity.
3. Opening new fields.
4. Christian presentation of science.
5. Developing Church Life.
Instruction.
Pastoral Care
Baptism, etc.
6. Country evangelism and itineration.
7. City evangelism, purity campaigns, reaching community and social institution, Y.M.C.A. prominent here.
8. Work among soldiers.
9. Christian education.
In 1922 there were 7,046 schools and colleges.
In 1922 there were 212,819 students.
Types -- Lower primary
Higher primary.
Middle schools.
Bible and normal schools.
Colleges and universities (14).
10. Religious Education.
Schools.
Church and Sunday School.
11. Literature.
Bible, periodicals, all types.
12. Medical work.
326 Hospitals.
244 Dispensaries (separate from hospitals).
Medical aid in some form was available in two thirds of the missionary residential centers.

1. Daniel Johnson Fleming, Whither Bound in Missions, N.Y., 1925, p. 124.

Other forms of medical work.

- Training nurses
- Special institutions for
 - Blind
 - Dumb
 - Tubercular Patients
 - Public Health education.
 - Preventative work
- 13. Comity and co-operation of denominations in all types of work, especially in building a national church.¹

In addition to these, two new fields of social work were added.

1. Agriculture and Country Life.

2. Social and moral welfare

Bathhouses, etc.,²

Narcotics and industry were also dealt with,³ and two new branches of service were listed in education.

1. Occupational education.

2. Christian citizenship.⁴

From this we see that the philosophy of an all-pervading religion is being taken seriously, shaming in many ways the church of the West. What a difference from the first period when only evangelism of a narrow type plus some small medical, literary, and educational work was carried on!

1. From Survey of the China Continuation Committee, The Chinese Church as Revealed in the National Christian Conference, Shanghai, 1922, Shanghai, pp. 106-130.

2. Ibid. pp. 324-346.

3. Ibid. pp. 468 ff., 691 ff., 916 ff.

4. Ibid. p. 297.

It is interesting to compare also the percentage of missionaries in purely evangelistic work to that in other types. The figures from the South China Missionary Diary show the following in the year 1922. For the sake of showing development the figures for 1845 are given also.

1922 ¹		1845 ²
54%	Evangelistic	65%
25%	Educational	20%
2%	Literary	
18%	Medical	15%
1%	Unclassified	00%

Appendix A gives a further example of the relative development of social and evangelistic work.

The ratio of Chinese to foreign workers is given for all China as 3.7 salaried Chinese workers to every missionary.³ That this is an increase over former years may be seen from Appendix B. With the advent of the recent Chinese church fast steps are being taken toward a fully Chinese controlled church.

From these figures we see that Evangelistic, Educational and Medical work continue to dominate, though they themselves have become more social and varied in their application.

1. Ibid. pp.96-97. Wives are included as in same occupation as husbands.

2. Statistics are approximate, George Smith, Narrative of an Exploratory visit to each of the Consular cities of China and to the islands of Hongkong and Chusan, 1845-6, N.Y., 1847. pp. 446-7. Wives not included.

3. From Survey of the China Continuation Committee The Chinese Church as Revealed in the National Christian Conference, Shanghai, 1922, Shanghai, p.99.

These are in themselves the best summary of methods and it should convince us that the missionary is attempting to share with the Chinese Christian salvation in every relationship of life. It also informs us that, with all his socializing and humanizing, the missionary has not forgotten that

"in the last analysis the emphasis of Christian missions....must be upon introducing men and women to the Christian Experience."¹

This is done, as shown, and by further evidence which space does not permit, through evangelization, educational, medical, literary, and social work of all kinds, through rapid recognition of Chinese leadership in the Chinese church, through continued contact between the young Chinese Church and the older churches of the West, through recognition and encouragement of Chinese liberty and ingenuity in an indigenous expression of the Christian faith, and through attempts of a more secular social nature to affect the entire non-Christian community and thus

"Hasten the Kingdom of God."

At the last minute this message comes from the latest Missionary Convention, held in Palestine. It being a fitting summary to the transition witnessed in our study.

1. K. S. Latourette, "Roman Catholic and Protestant Missions in China," International Review of Missions, April, 1927, pp. 170-1.

"Jerusalem, Palestine, April 5 (AP) -- A message to all Christians of the world, adopted today by the International Missionary Council, was described by the delegates as an appropriate Good Friday proclamation from representatives of those who hold the faith in nearly 60 nations. Despite the differing elements in the Council, the message was endorsed by acclamation, it said:

"We endorse the Christian message formulated at last year's conference on faith and order at Lausanne, but we wish additionally to emphasize the motive of missionary enterprise.

"We believe in a Christ-like world, and wish to place our experience at the disposal of the younger churches and desire that they express the gospel according to the particular genius of each.

"We believe in going into other nations, not because they are worse than our own, but because they are part of the world and we would share our blessings with them.

"We would welcome from the younger churches missions to America and Europe, not for the advertising of their needs but that they might share their spiritual treasure with us.

"Every noble quality of non-Christian persons or systems is welcomed by us as evidence that God is nowhere without witness.

"We repudiate the attempts of governments and of business to use the missionary cause for ulterior purposes. We repudiate too, any form of religious imperialism that would impose belief on others against their will."

CONCLUSION

Protestant Missions arose in a time of cultural revolution. The Industrial Revolution was transforming every phase of man's life in the West. Europeans rapidly expanded and soon were to be found in every part of the world. Science developed rapidly and aided this spread of the West, as well as adding tremendously to man's knowledge. New political and social ideas replaced monarchical forms of government with more democratic systems. People took a greater part in the rule of their lands and developed a more pronounced national and racial consciousness. Transformation within the church was taking place with the advent of a great religious awakening, giving impetus to the evangelical movement. Waves of religious enthusiasm swept England, America, and Protestant Europe, giving men an increased sense of the presence of God.

These movements were responsible for the motive of the first Protestant missionaries to China. Christians went to the Orient to fulfill the great responsibility which they felt resting upon them with the discovery of millions of souls lying in spiritual poverty. Their purpose was to rescue them from eternal damnation from which knowledge and acceptance of Jesus as their Savior

could alone save them. They carried as their message the Good News of God's love for a lost people and of salvation available through the atonement of Christ. The desire to add to the glory of God by the salvation of the heathen gave men strength and zeal to surpass the difficulties of the work. The period was one of rescue.

With the changes brought by political conditions in 1842-44 the responsibility for the salvation of the Chinese increased in men's minds. The opportunity brought with it the duty to spread the message of Christ to every open port. China needed to be saved from herself and eternal damnation for which she was headed because of her affinity to religions which were the very inventions of the evil power. A few of the missionaries, recognizing value in some of the Chinese conceptions, avowed their purpose to be the larger unfolding of these and the building upon them. The intention of counteracting the evil influences upon China of increasing commercial contact with the Orient added strength to purpose. And, finally, evangelization began to involve the broader process of building the Christian community, touching all the individual's relationships and trying to better the heathen's life upon earth, as well as save him for

a life of future happiness. It was an unselfish motive and came from the wish to be of service to God and to save the Chinese. This was the time of opening and establishment.

Famine and revolution increased the appeal which the Chinese made to the Christian church for physical as well as spiritual rescue. Missionaries went to alleviate these conditions and to fill the needs of the Chinese' minds and bodies as well as their spirits. The opportunity provided by the treaties of 1858-60 added to the purpose of spreading the gospel to every corner of the Empire, and again opening brought responsibility. Young followers of Christ could find nothing more romantic and, at the same time soul-satisfying, than to dedicate themselves to the expression of their religious enthusiasm in a vast land of needy heathen, leading these to the new power and religion needed so much in a time of breakdown of older faiths. Furthermore, a stigma had been placed upon the name Christian by revolutionists who followed certain rules of the Bible but knew not the real spirit of love. The church of the West felt the changing of this idea as its duty and dedicated more of her newly accumulated wealth to the interests of the Kingdom of God in China. The desire to fulfill the

truths of the native beliefs remained and grew among the missionaries. But most of them went to rescue and to spread the gospel in obedience to God's command given in His revelation, the Bible. Gratitude to one's own Saviour could be expressed in no better way than making this atonement available to others. But, this time, it was an atonement replete with love, rather than an escape from dread torment. It was a love to be followed in every-day life by both missionary and convert, not merely a dogma or creed to be propagated or verbally accepted. During these years the Good News was taken to practically every corner of the nation by pioneers who became spiritual fathers of their various groups of converts. This was an era of paternalism.

From 1895 to the present opportunity has opened and waned. Missionaries in the early years of this period went out to meet China's cry for new institutions and ideas with the best that they of the West knew, the Gospel of Christ. They made Christ beautiful before the critical analysis of the Chinese eyes. They sought to guide the intellectual revolution so as to lead the open minds of the Orientals to Christian truth, to guarantee that the economic revolution would be beneficial, and to offer Christianity as the new Chinese religion in a time of great opportunity. This motive was strength-

ened by the desire to help the church at home through expression abroad, and to use the economic assets of a young developing West for the world's spiritual betterment.

The latter part of the period finds men desiring to share with their brothers everywhere the great source of strength which they have found in Christ, to add this to the value which they see in their Oriental brother's religious and philosophic truths. They go to work with their Chinese brothers, many of whom have shown great insight into and capacity for the Christ-like life. Some go to seek with these fellowmen something sore adequate to meet the demands of complex modern civilization, realizing the need of some new moral and spiritual dynamic. They recognize the value of each individual and believe that to each there is some inner revelation of Christ, spiritual or intellectual, and that by being willing to follow truth anywhere and share these individual and racial contributions men can more quickly learn together the true way of life.

Most modern missionaries go to China to Christianize and be Christian in every relationship of life, believing that religion is not a compartment of one's life but an attitude and conviction which tones up and de-

termines the course of the whole. They go to transform economic, industrial, intellectual, physical, and political life, knowing that eventually the unity of mankind will repay them for their efforts in returns to their own religion and civilization.

Finally, Protestant missionaries go to China motivated by the desire to reveal Christ in their lives and to receive new revelations of Christ through the lives of Chinese. He and his great Love are the center of the missionary enterprise, all nations being learners under Him, each striving to offer the rest of the world its own interpretation of Him. Conservatives and liberals, with few exceptions, alike agree to this central factor, though they may differ in details of the method. This is a period of brotherhood, the older churches of the West calling themselves the elder brothers. It is yet time for the Christian church to witness fraternity of the Orient and Occident on an equal basis in religious matters.

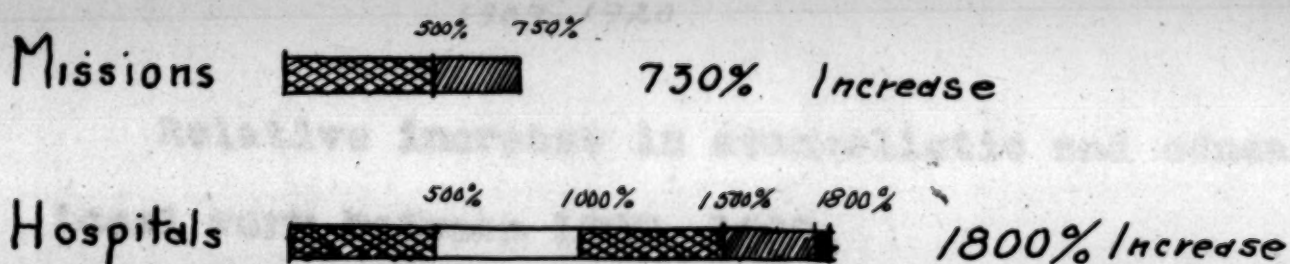
REVISED BY THE HAZARDOUS COMMITTEE OF 1922

FRANK HAZARD, JR. SOCIETY OF CHRISTIAN BROTHERS OF AMERICA
1922, pp. 11-12.

Appendix A

Chart 1.

-Growth of Social Motive-



**Relative increase of hospitals and
(resident) mission stations between 1889- 1920,22.**

Mission stations increased ...750 %

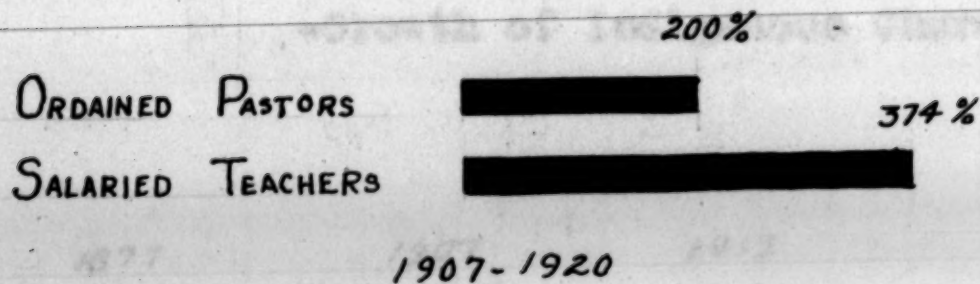
Hospitals increased.....1800 %

Sources

Records of the Missionary Conference of 1890.

**Frank Rawlinson, in Christian Occupation of China,
1922, pp. 31 ff.**

Chart 2.

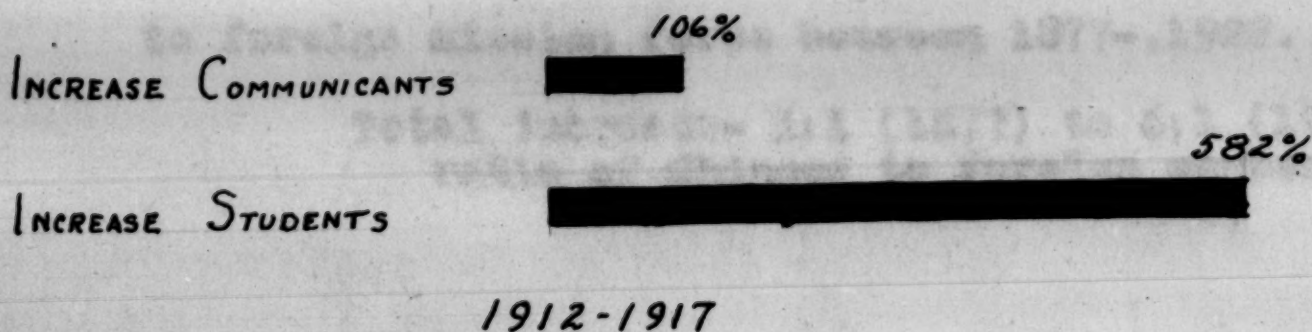
-Growth of Social Motive-

Relative increase in evangelistic and educational work between 1907- 1920.

Ordained pastors increased..200 %

Salaried teachers increased.374 %

Chart 3.

-Growth of Social Motive-

Relative increase in educational and evangelistic work between 1912- 1917.

Communicants increased...106 %

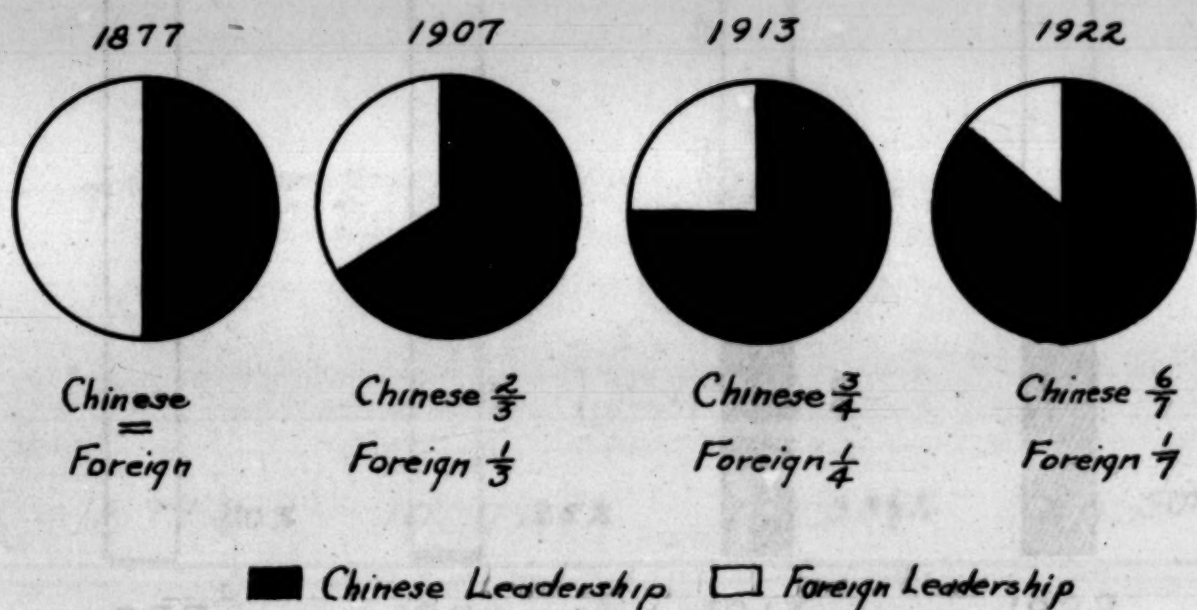
Students increased.....582 %

Source

Frank Rawlinson, Christian Occup. of China, pp. 31 ff.

Appendix B

Chart 1.

-Growth of Indigenous Church-

**Increasing ratio of Chinese employed staff
to foreign mission force between 1877-.1922.**

**Total increase- 1:1 (1877) to 6:1 (1922),
ratio of Chinese to foreign members.**

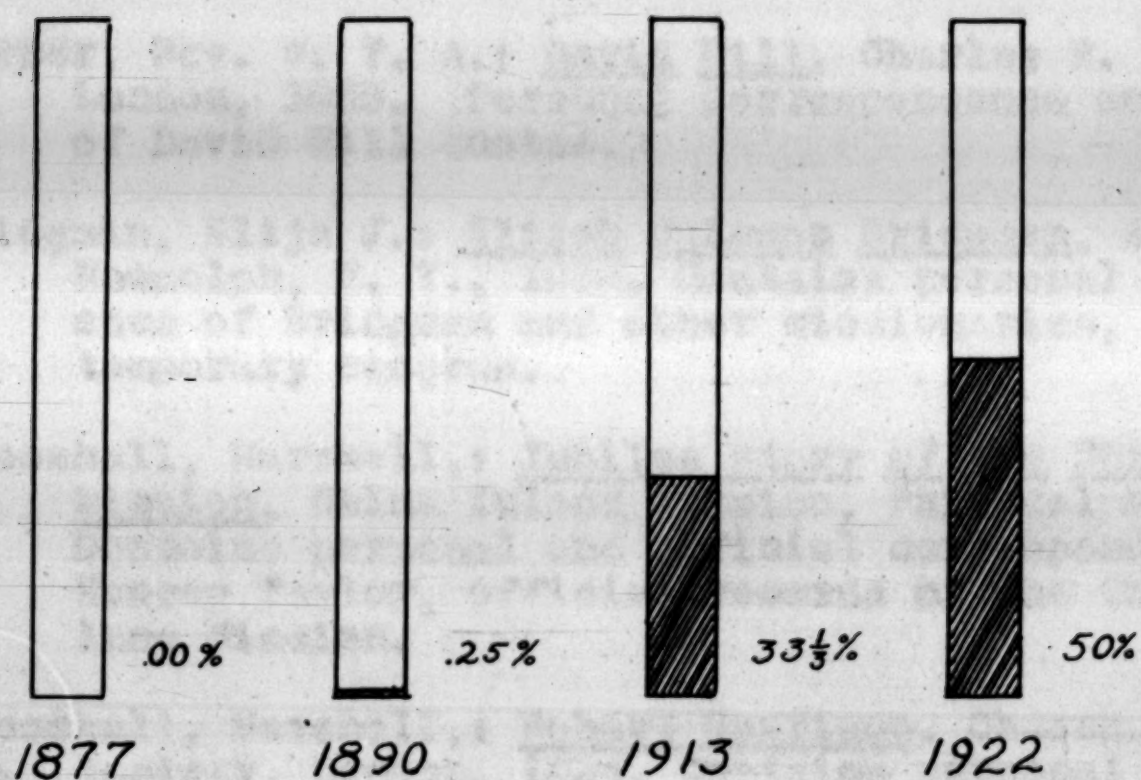
Source

**The Chinese Church as Revealed in the National
Christian Conference, Shanghai, 1922, p. 220.**

Records of Missions Conferences, 1877-1922.

*Frank Hamilton, Christian Church of China, 1922,
pp. 21-22.*

Chart 2.

-Growth of Indigenous Church-

□ % of Conference Foreigners.

▨ % of Conference Chinese.

Increase in Chinese participation in missionary conferences between 1877- 1922.

Percentage of the total conference which was Chinese increased from 00 % in 1877 to 50 % in 1922.

Sources

Records of Missionary Conferences, 1877; 1890.

Frank Rawlinson, Christian Occupat. of China, 1922, pp. 31 ff.

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